Unabridged Written Submissions to the
Métis National Council Expert Panel

Abitibi Inland
Historic Métis Community

Métis Nation of Ontario

Table of Contents

Preface to these Written Submissions	1
The Emergence of the Abitibi Inland Historic Métis Community	3
The Abitibi Inland Métis Community Through the Lens of the National Definition	4
Origins and Development of the Abitibi Inland Historic Métis Community	6
The Extensive Kinship within the AIMC	14
The AIMC's Ties to Other Métis Communities	17
Economic Niches and Realities of the AIMC	20
A Distinctly Métis Culture within the Abitibi Inland Region: Fiddles, Fishing, and Familiar Housing	22
A Clear and Expressed Collective Métis Identity within the Abitibi Inland and Western James Bay Regions	25
Political Action: Petitions, Scrip, and Treaty 9 Negotiation	30
After 1905: Migrations South and Maintaining Relations in the Face of Industry	35
The AIMC Within Contemporary Métis Governance	36
APPENDIX 1: Abitibi Inland Métis Family Vignettes	40
APPENDIX 2: Kinship and Social Network Analysis	51
APPENDIX 3: Questions to the MNC Expert Panel from the Abitibi Inland Métis Community	53

Preface to these Written Submissions

In 2021, the Métis National Council (MNC) Annual General Assembly passed a resolution that called for the formation of an Expert Panel to review the history of the seven Métis communities in Ontario through the lens of the MNC National Definition and contemporary Métis governance.

Grounded in respect for the Métis Nation's inherent right to self-determination—including the exclusive right to determine who its citizens are—the Métis Nation of Ontario (MNO) supported this resolution, and subsequent related resolutions. This was the Métis Nation's chosen route to address questions about the seven Métis communities in Ontario's relationship to the larger Métis Nation.

As required by the 2021 MNC Annual General Assembly resolution, one expert with knowledge of Métis rights, laws and history was appointed by each MNC Governing Member appointed to the Expert Panel. While appointed by the MNC Governing Members, the Expert Panel operates independently from the Governing Members, relying on their expertise in their respective fields and lived experience as Métis people to guide their work. The appointed experts are:

- Marilyn Poitras (Chair)—Métis Nation-Saskatchewan
- Dr. Dylan Miner—Métis Nation of Ontario
- Larry Chartrand—Métis Nation of Alberta
- Dr. Shelly Neimi—Métis Nation British Columbia

The Expert Panel's work commenced in September 2023, beginning one of the most comprehensive studies of its kind. They have reviewed primary and secondary sources, expert reports, royal commissions, and academic literature related to Métis Nation history, identity, and belonging. They have engaged with Métis Nation elders, youth, academics, leaders (past and present), as well as independent experts of Métis history, law, and genealogy.

Importantly—unlike any other study of Métis communites in Ontario to date—they have also engaged directly with the Métis communities. They personally visited the seven Métis communities in Ontario, met with community members, elders, and youth, and received written submissions and presentations from the communities themselves on this pivotal issue.

These written submissions from the Abitibi Inland Métis Community were provided to the Expert Panel as part of this process. The written submissions were the means through which the Métis community could outline its relationship—historic and contemporary—to the Métis Nation and to the MNC. It is, in many ways, a public history of the community and an avenue through which they can further revitalize their relationships, stories, and histories that have for far too long gone untold.

In addition to these written submissions, the Abitibi Inland Métis Community met with the Expert Panel to present their histories and positions on this matter. On behalf of the Abitibi Inland Métis Community, the Expert Panel heard a presentation from France Picotte and Pierre Lefebvre,

followed by a round table discussion that included, Reta Gordon, David Hamilton, and Charlotte Hunter Louitt-Kijekijik who discussed their history, stories, and relationship with the larger Métis Nation to the Expert Panel on March 28, 2024.

On behalf of the MNO, we thank the community members who so willingly shared their time, histories, and knowledge with the Expert Panel, as well as the dedicated team of historians, genealogists, designers, and of course the copy editors who supported our communities through this challenging, but necessary process.

Regardless of the MNC Expert Panel's conclusion and recommendations, the vibrant histories, culture, and clear political identity of the Métis communities in Ontario will continue to flourish as they have since the early 1800s. Like our ancestors, we will continue to defend and stand up for their histories and identities, just as we will continue to support and stand beside their Métis relatives across the Métis Nation Homeland, so that we may collectively flourish for the generations to come.

Mitch Case
Regional Councilor
Huron-Superior Métis Community
Provincial Secretary for Rights,
Intergovernmental Relations,
and Communications

Zac Thiffault
Legal Counsel
Director of Métis Rights, Claims,
and Litigation

Written Submissions of the Abitibi Inland Métis Community to the Métis National Council Expert Panel

"*We the undersigned, half breeds of Moose Factory, beg to petition the Government of Ont. for some consideration, as we are told by His Majesty's Treaty Commissioners that no provision is at present made for us. We understand that scrip has been granted to the half breeds of the North West Territory. We have been born & brought up in the country, and are thus by our birth and training unfit to obtain a livelihood in the civilized world. Should the fur traders at any time not require our services we should be obliged to support ourselves by hunting. We therefore humbly pray that you will reconsider your present arrangements and afford us some help… The above represent various absentees at Charlton & on HBC Vessels*."

- Petition for Scrip from the Halfbreeds of Moose Factory, 1905[1]

In 1905, a group of "Halfbreeds" from Moose Factory—including Andrew Morrison, George and William McLeod, George Moore, and William Archibald—petitioned the Ontario Government for scrip amidst the negotiation of Treaty 9 (also known as the James Bay Treaty). In their requests, the petitioners drew upon a long political tradition, employed by Métis communities across the Homeland, of petitioning the colonial government and asserting their rights as a distinct Indigenous people, as settlers and the colonial government encroached upon their homes, harvesting territories, and way of life.

The Moose Factory petitioners grew up in a close-knit, intergenerational regional community of interlinked Métis settlements. They were also connected to Métis communities throughout west central North America (i.e., the historic Northwest and the Métis Nation Homeland), sharing a culture, way of life, economic practices, Christian faith, and kinship with each other and with Métis across west central North America.

The Emergence of the Abitibi Inland Historic Métis Community

The Abitibi Inland Historic Métis Community ("**AIMC**") is a regional Métis community that emerged from interconnected Métis settlements at the inland fur trade posts between New Post and Timiskaming, including Frederick House, Abitibi House, Kenogamissi, Flying Post, Mattagami, and Matachewan, and at the coastal trading posts of Moose Factory and Fort Albany. For the purposes of these submissions, this area—encompassing the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions—is the geographic scope of this regional Métis community.

Around the turn of the eighteenth century, a distinct and recognizable Métis population emerged at the coastal provisioning forts around the western edge of James Bay, including at Moose Factory and Fort Albany. As the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) expanded inland from the north and French trading interests entered the region from the south, fierce competition led to the establishment of numerous inland posts and outposts throughout the Abitibi Inland region.

From at least the eighteenth century, fur traders stationed at posts in the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions married local First Nations women in the custom of the country ("*à la façon du pays*"). Children from these unions grew up and began marrying amongst themselves, leading

[1] Petition for Scrip from the Half-Breeds of Moose Factory, 1905. LAC, RG10, Vol 3093, File 289,300, Reel C-9667.

to the emergence of a distinct Métis people and identity. The Métis children raised in the region's fur trade culture, known sometimes as "Factory Boys," became the backbone of the HBC's operations throughout the region.

The families of the AIMC formed a Métis community knit together by kinship that persisted over generations. They worked together at the region's fur trade posts, married into each other's families, witnessed important life events, and lived amongst other Métis families over multiple generations.

Like Métis communities across west central North America, members of the AIMC asserted themselves collectively, representing their rights and interests as a distinct Indigenous people. For example, the AIMC petitioned the Canadian government for Métis scrip on at least two separate occasions, in 1893 and 1905.

Like many other Métis communities, even when members of the AIMC lived in proximity to First Nations, they maintained a distinct and unique identity, as is repeatedly documented in the historic record.

The Abitibi Inland Métis Community Through the Lens of the National Definition

In an act of self-determination, after years of extensive consultations, discussions, and debates, the Governing Members of the Métis National Council **("MNC"),** including the MNO, unanimously adopted the following National Definition for Citizenship within the Métis Nation ("**National Definition**") at the MNC General Assembly ("**AGA**") in September 2002:

> "Métis" means a person who self-identifies as Métis, is of historic Métis Nation Ancestry, is distinct from other Aboriginal Peoples and is accepted by the Métis Nation.
>
> "Historic Métis Nation" means the Aboriginal people, then known as Métis or Half-breeds, who resided in the Historic Métis Nation homeland."
>
> "Historic Métis Nation Homeland" means the area of land in west central North America used and occupied as the traditional territory of the Métis or Half-breeds as they were then known.
>
> "Métis Nation" means the Aboriginal people descended from the Historic Métis Nation, which is now comprised of all Métis Nation citizens and is one of the "aboriginal peoples of Canada" within the meaning of Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982.
>
> "Distinct from other Aboriginal peoples" means distinct for cultural and nationhood purposes.[2]

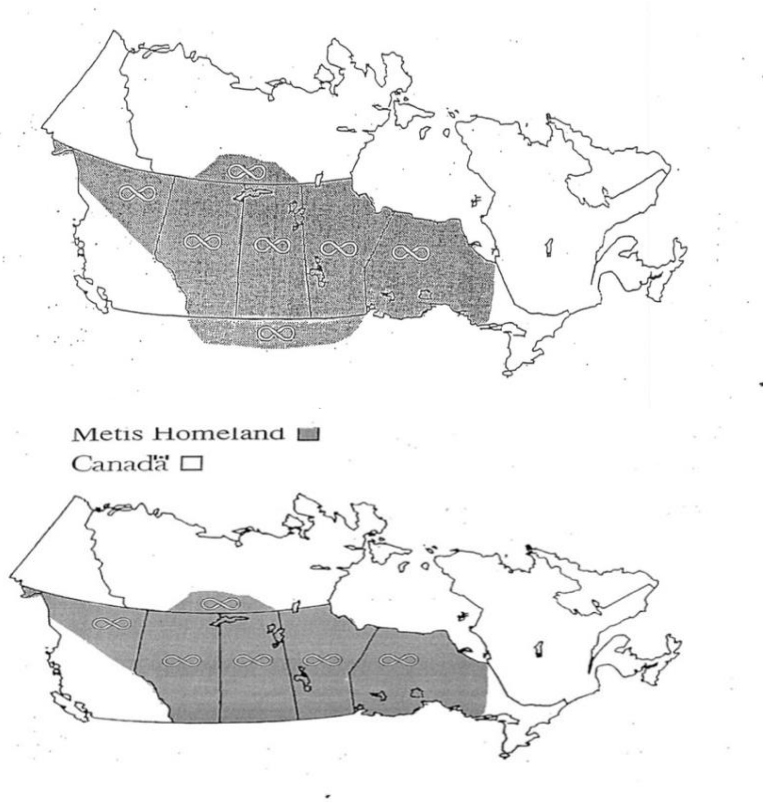
The AIMC has always met the criteria outlined in this definition. As this submission will demonstrate, they were a distinct group apart from both First Nations and settlers, consistently recorded, in their own words and others', as "Half breeds" or "Métis."

[2] See: Citizenship, Métis Nation of Ontario; Citizenship Applications – FAQ's, Manitoba Métis Federation; Citizenship, Métis Nation-Saskatchewan; and Definition of Métis-Métis Nation of Alberta.

While contemporaneously represented by the Métis Nation of Ontario ("**MNO**") and formally recognized by the Government of Ontario in 2017 as a rights-bearing Métis community under section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, the Abitibi Inland Historic Métis Community has a long and documented history within the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions stretching back to the late 1700s.

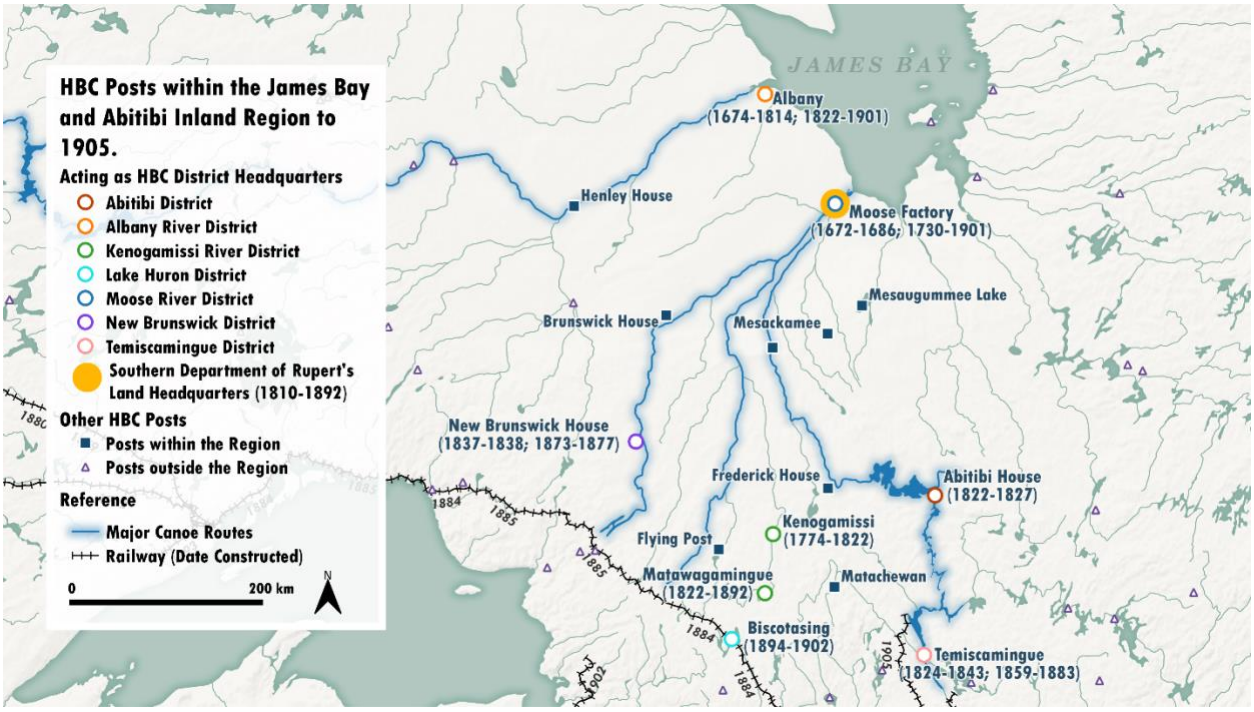
This community has been an integral part of the MNO since its founding as a Métis specific government in 1993. At no point was the AIMC's existence as part of the Métis Nation contested when the MNO joined the MNC; rather, the AIMC's major coastal settlements, Moose Factory and Fort Albany, have long been accepted by the MNC as part of the Métis Nation Homeland. In fact, all MNC maps pre-2018 encompass Moose Factory, the more eastern of these coastal settlements, including those produced during Clément Chartier's presidency.

MNC Charlottetown Accord Backgrounder that includes description of the Métis Nation Homeland as extending into "Northwestern Ontario" with a visual map extending to the Upper Great Lakes.



A 2004 presentation prepared and presented by MNC's legal counsel in November 2004 entitled "Overview of the Métis Nation's Rights-Based Agenda" includes two visuals of the Métis Homeland with the eastern boundary encompassing Moose Factory in the north and the north shore of Lake Huron in the south.

Origins and Development of the Abitibi Inland Historic Métis Community



This map shows the location of historic HBC posts within the territory of the AIMC. Employment in the fur trade impacted the movement of Métis throughout the region, and the map shows which posts served as district hubs. Note that Moose Factory served as the headquarters of the entirety of the HBC's Southern Department of Rupert's Land from 1810 to 1892.

The AIMC emerged principally in connection with the fur trade of western James Bay. English traders first arrived in the region in the late 17th century. The HBC was formed in 1670 and established a trading post at Moose Factory in 1673.

Meanwhile, French traders entered the region from the south, establishing a fort near Temiscamingue in 1679 and at Abitibi in 1686. In the north, traders formed trade alliances with the Cree, while further south towards Temiscamingue, European traders also exchanged goods and established relationships with Anishinaabe peoples.[3]

Competition between the North West Company ("**NWC**") and the HBC after 1779 was fierce, leading to the establishment of numerous posts and outposts throughout the Abitibi Inland region. Eventually the companies merged in 1821, after which many of these posts remained operational.

As this submission will show, by this time, the Métis of the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions were not simply families of mixed ancestry; they had developed a distinct identity rooted in kinship relationships that stretched from the coastal forts of Moose Factory and Fort Albany, the inland posts and settlements of the Abitibi Inland region, as well as in other parts of west central North America.[4] By 1870, the AIMC had settlements throughout the region, with significant

[3] For more on the development of the Home-Guard Cree, see Carol Judd, "Housing the Homeguard at Moose Factory: 1730-1982," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3, no. 1 (1983): 23-27.
[4] For more on country marriages and endogamy in the region, see Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 51-80. See also Praxis Research Associates, "A Historical Profile of the James Bay Area's Mixed European-Indian or Mixed European-Inuit Community," Report prepared for the Attorney-General of Canada (2005), 48-62.

populations at Moose Factory, Fort Albany, Abitibi House, and Temiscamingue. Canada's north-westward expansion had a direct impact on the economic livelihood of the Métis families of Abitibi. Their livelihoods were transformed by resource extraction, the decline of the fur trade, and Euro-Canadian settlement following the construction of the railway. By the early 20th century, many families had moved south in search of new economic opportunities, congregating in railroad towns like Biscotasing and Mattawa.

The Moose Factory School

By the 1790s, a first generation of Métis children had been born at coastal forts like Moose Factory, mostly to European fur-trading fathers and Cree mothers. At a time when there were no European women in the region, Métis families became a feature of life at fur trading forts. The Favell-Titameg, Goodwin, Vincent-Renton, and Thomas families were some of the earliest Métis families documented in the Moose Factory region of the AIMC.[5]

By 1794, schoolbooks were being sent from London to educate the growing number of children living at Moose Factory. In 1809, Moose Factory Chief Factor John Thomas described a schoolmaster teaching children, and a schoolhouse under construction:

> "the schoolmaster resumed his function & began teaching his little school which consists of four Boys & four Girls Viz. Henry & Richard Thomas, George Moore & Henry Lawson, Harriot & Elizabeth Vincent, Katharine Thomas & Frances Thomas, the School house not being complete the Governor's Room is heretofore the school Room."[6]

In this passage, Thomas describes two of his own children with a woman whose name is recorded in historical documents only as "Margaret." The other children include Harriet and Elizabeth Vincent, daughters of Thomas Vincent, whose Métis family sustained a connection to the AIMC for generations to come.[7]

The "Factory Boys"

Métis children in the AIMC lived in a world shaped by the realities of the fur trade. Many Métis daughters grew up to marry and have children with HBC employees, and sons worked at the posts. For example, around 1810, Harriet Vincent married Scottish HBC clerk David Ramsay Stewart. After Stewart abandoned Harriet and returned to England (a cruel but not an uncommon fate of Métis and First Nations women married to HBC traders), Harriet married George Gladman, the son of senior HBC officer George Gladman Sr. and "Mary, an Indian woman."[8]

Factory sons like Gladman, John Thomas Jr., George Moore, Henry Lawson, and Thomas Vincent worked at the posts like their European fathers, serving apprenticeships before becoming clerks, labourers, carpenters, and canoe men. While the HBC had initially relied on English apprentices, by the early 1800s, this local Indigenous—heavily Métis—population replaced the apprentices and

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[5] For more about these families see the Métis Nation of Ontario's Verified Métis Family Line reports for the Favell-Titameg, Goodwin-Mistigoose, Vincent-Renton, and Thomas families.
[6] Moose Factory Post Journal, August 6, 1810. Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), Moose Factory Post Journal, 1809-1810, B.135/a/98.
[7] For more information on the Vincent-Renton family, see Métis Nation of Ontario, "Vincent-Renton Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2017).
[8] Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Biographical Sheet for George Gladman Jr., July 1998, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/_docs/hbca/biographical/g/gladman_george-jr.pdf

labourers previously brought over from Europe. HBC records frequently describe "country born," "native," and "half-breed" workers, who are also referred to as "factory boys."[9]

The availability of a skilled, Indigenous labour force was part of why the HBC was eager to provide schooling to the Moose Factory children. In 1806, the company's directors in London wrote to factors:

> "It would be advisable to instruct the Children belonging to the Servants in the principles of Religion and teach them from their youth reading writing & Arithmetic also Accounts which we should hope would attach them to our Service & in a few Years become a small Colony of very useful hands."[10]

By this time, fur trade posts in the area already relied on Métis workers. In 1803, John Thomas, the chief factor at Moose Factory and father of Métis children, wrote:

> "The services of…Native Youths are becoming every year more & more conspicuous…they are almost our sole dependence both for supplying and supporting the Inland Stations, as well as otherwise opposing the Canadians."[11]

Here, Thomas referred to the children born at the fur trade posts and part of the region's nascent Métis community as "Native," a term commonly used in this period to distinguish Métis from the HBC's European workers. Like in other parts of west central North America, HBC officials and Métis of the AIMC also referred to themselves as "Natives of the Country" in fur trade records and other documents.[12]

Métis raised in the region's fur trade culture became central to the HBC's operations throughout Abitibi Inland. By 1815, five out of 10 servants (including the post manager) stationed at Kenogamissi (south of present-day Timmins, Ontario) were "Native."[13] By 1840, two thirds of HBC servants in the James Bay coastal region were identifiable as "halfbreeds" and, by the 1890s, more than 70 percent of employees in the Moose District listed "Hudson Bay" as their parish of origin.[14] The increasing proportion of Métis employees at posts throughout Abitibi Inland fostered the solidification of this regional Métis community.

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[9] For the term "Factory Boys" in HBC records see, for example, the description of John Knight as "Factory Boy" in 1803, Keenogumessee House Journal (HBCA B.99/a/10, fo. 1); references to "factory boys" as distinct from "Irish Boys" and "Boys" in the Moose Factory Journal 1812-1813 (B.135/a/103, fo. 21). The term is also used by William Faries in the oral history passed down to him from his grandfather. Variants of the term "half-breed" found in Moose Factory journals, correspondence, and reports from 1822 through to 1900 include: "halfbreed" and "halfbreeds" in the 1822-1823 District Report (HBCA B.135/e/11, fo. 5d). "Half Breed Native" in the 1840-1841 Post Journal (HBCA B.135/a/145, fo. 14), "half breeds" and "natives of the country" in John Horden's Journal for 1851 (GSA MF 78-13 [A88-89], 19 November and 23 December 1851), "half caste" in a letter from George Simpson to Horden in 1854 (GSA MF78-13 [A88-89], 21 July 1854); "half-castes," "Scotch half-breeds" and "half-breed women" in Borron 1890, quoting from 1883 and 1884 reports (Borron, "Report on the Basin of Moose River," 84-85, 92-93); and "half-breed" in the 1900 Moose Factory Post Journal (HBCA B.135/a/188, fos. 75d-76).

[10] Quoted in Carol Judd, "Mixed Bloods of Moose Factory, 1730-1981: A Socio-Economic Study," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 6, no. 2 (March 1982), 72-73.

[11] Quoted in Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood,* 164. See also Praxis, "Historic Métis in Ontario, Timmins, Cochrane and the Abitibi Region" (2001): 64.

[12] For an overview of how terminology is used in this era, see Praxis Research Associates (2005): 7-12.

[13] Report on Kenogamissi District, 1815-1816 (fos. 1d, 2), B.99/e/3, Hudson Bay Company Archive; see also Praxis (2001): 65.

[14] John S. Long, "Treaty No. 9 and fur trade company families: Northeastern Ontario's halfbreeds, Indians, petitioners and métis" in *The New Peoples, Being and Becoming Métis in North America,* ed. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985): 141; Long cites Brown, *Strangers in Blood,* 206; Southern Department Abstracts of Servants' Accounts Books, 1891-1892, B. 135/g/74, Hudson's Bay Company Archive, see also John S. Long, "Treaty No. 9 and fur trade company families," 141.

The Albany Boat Steerers & Realities of the AIMC in the Fur Trade

Based on their relationship to the lands and waters, the Métis in the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions had unique skills as interpreters, guides, and hunters. They quickly took on specialized roles at the fur trade posts. While racist HBC policies generally restricted Métis to occupations within the "servant" class (the highest of which was "postmaster"), the Métis of Abitibi Inland had important skills. In 1804, Albany postmaster John Hodgson described a group of Halfbreed boat steerers who had protested their inequitable wages:

> "But the greatest trouble I have experienced this year is from the half Breed or Creoles, who complain their Wages are much less than others, and as they are all Boat Steerers they think they have a right to better wages than they have."

Hodgson continued:

> "Mr. Sanders has 3 Stout Sons who all steer Boats, besides there is Hugh Linklater, and John Kipling, all Stout Men. They act as Interpreters & are in every respect most useful People, for they hunt equally as well as the Natives and it is by their Endeavours frequently in hunting, the several Posts fare much better than they otherwise would do without them."[15]

Here, Hodgson uses the term "Natives" to mean First Nations, distinguishing between "Natives" and the people he terms "half Breed or Creoles"—an example of the anomalies and variation sometimes found in how terminology was used in nineteenth-century records. Hodgson's terminology does indicate that Métis boat steerers in the region were understood as distinct from First Nations, while the journal also shows how valuable Métis workers were in carrying out the day-to-day tasks that not only kept posts running, but that also kept post inhabitants alive through the region's long, icy winters. The boat steerers' collective dissatisfaction expressed to postmaster John Hodgson is telling. Six years later, two of the boat steerers—David Sanderson Jr. and Hugh Linklater—left HBC service. As HBC officials noted in a letter exchanged in June 1812:

> "besides the above Canadians, two other men viz David Sanderson Junr and Hugh Linklater, who left the service last year in consequence of their extravagant demands for wages being rejected: they are natives of the country and have been many years in the Service, are expert in steering Boats or Canoes, able Interpreters and the latter in particular can act as Guides in most parts of the Winnipeg Country."[16]

The Sanders/Saunders family, documented in the Abitibi Inland region by the nineteenth century, are an example of how members of the AIMC had connections to other regions of west central North America. Working as boat steerers in the region, several "halfbreed" individuals with varying spellings of the Saunders name (i.e., Saunderson) appear in HBC records from the 1820s and 1830s. Members of the Saunders family are identified as "halfbreed" in the HBC District Report for 1822-1823 and, in the 1826-1827 District Report, Peter Saunders is listed among five "Apprentice Boys (Natives of the Country) who received clothing and provisions."[17]

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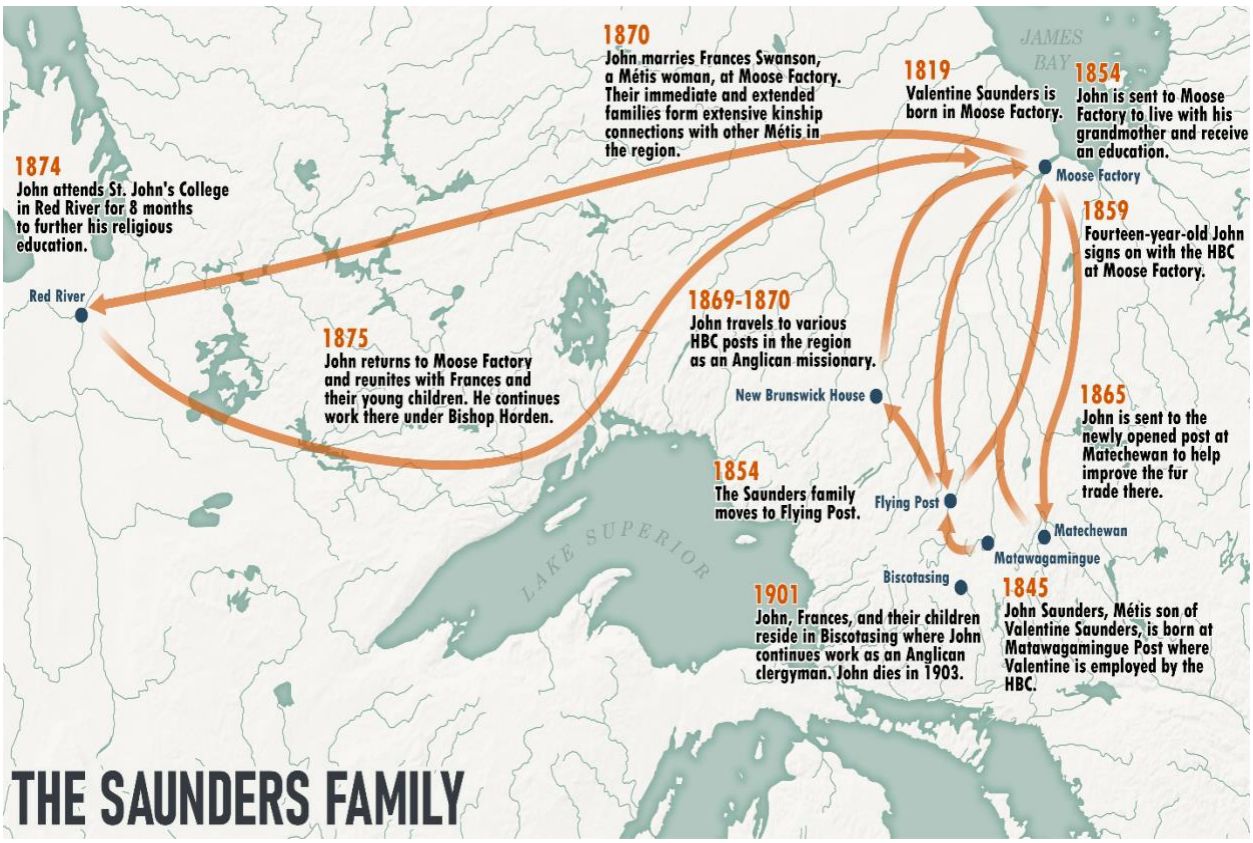
[15] Journal of Occurrences from Albany Fort to Martins Fall by Mr. John Hodgson, Commencing June 11th and Ending July 25th 1804, B.3/a/106, Hudson's Bay Company Archive.

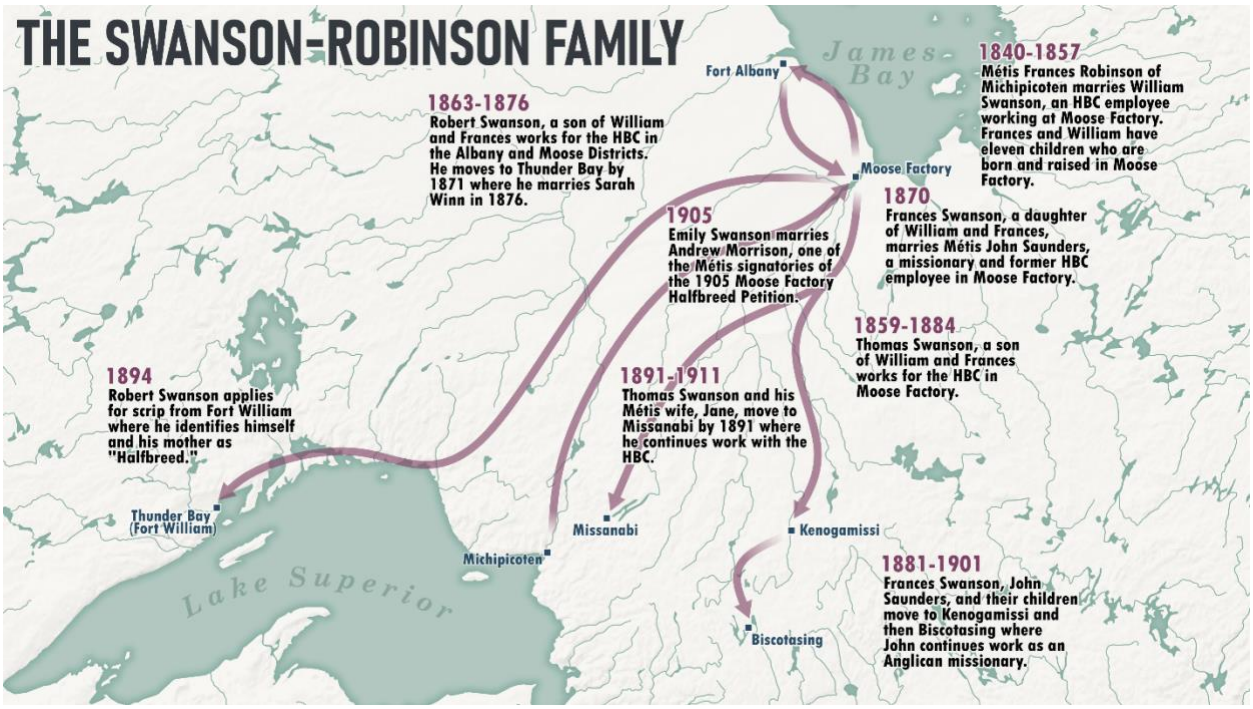
[16] Letter from Thomas Thomas to William Meiller, 28 June 1812. HBCA, B.3/b/48a. Chief Factor Thomas Vincent also wrote in the Albany post journal of 1810-1811 that David Sanderson (junior) had been discharged as he "to continue any longer in the service and wishes to hunt for himself he as well as Linklater are Natives of the Country." See HBCA, B.3/a/114, Reel 1M10.

[17] HBCA, B.135/e/11, fos. 5d-6; Cited in Praxis (2005): 114; HBCA, B.135/e/17, fo. 1d; Cited in Praxis (2005): 9.

Another family member, Valentine Saunders, was born in Moose Factory in 1819 and began working for the HBC in the Kenogamissi District in 1834.[18] Valentine's children, including his son John Saunders, spent their early years at inland posts including Matawagamingue and Flying Post,[19] but also lived within the larger regional community and beyond. In 1854, John was sent 500 km north to Moose Factory to live with his grandmother and receive an education. After working as a cooper and journeyman for the HBC, John became a missionary, travelling to Red River in 1874 to further his religious education.[20] John married Frances Swanson of the Swanson-Robinson family at Moose Factory in 1870.[21] As illustrated in the maps below, both the Saunders and Swanson-Robinson families were highly mobile, working and forming connections across west central North America.


1870
John marries Frances Swanson, a Métis woman, at Moose Factory. Their immediate and extended families form extensive kinship connections with other Métis in the region.
1819
Valentine Saunders is born in Moose Factory.
1854
John is sent to Moose Factory to live with his grandmother and receive an education.
JAMES BAY
Moose Factory
1874
John attends St. John's College in Red River for 8 months to further his religious education.
Red River
1859
Fourteen-year-old John signs on with the HBC at Moose Factory.
1875
John returns to Moose Factory and reunites with Frances and their young children. He continues work there under Bishop Horden.
1869-1870
John travels to various HBC posts in the region as an Anglican missionary.
New Brunswick House
1865
John is sent to the newly opened post at Matechewan to help improve the fur trade there.
1854
The Saunders family moves to Flying Post.
Flying Post
Matechewan
Matawagamingue
LAKE SUPERIOR
Biscotasing
1901
John, Frances, and their children reside in Biscotasing where John continues work as an Anglican clergyman. John dies in 1903.
1845
John Saunders, Métis son of Valentine Saunders, is born at Matawagamingue Post where Valentine is employed by the HBC.
THE SAUNDERS FAMILY

[18] For more information on the Saunders-Leblanc family, see Métis Nation of Ontario, "Saunders-Leblanc Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2017). Little is known about Valentine's parents, except for his mother's first name.
[19] John Saunders, "My Autobiography, July 18, 1876" John Saunders Fonds, M81-15, General Synod Archives.
[20] See *Saunders-Leblanc Family Vignette*.
[21] See *Swanson-Robinson Family Vignette*. For more information on the Swanson-Robinson family, see Métis Nation of Ontario, "Swanson-Robinson Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2017).


THE SWANSON-ROBINSON FAMILY
James Bay
Fort Albany
1840-1857
Métis Frances Robinson of Michipicoten marries William Swanson, an HBC employee working at Moose Factory. Frances and William have eleven children who are born and raised in Moose Factory.
1863-1876
Robert Swanson, a son of William and Frances works for the HBC in the Albany and Moose Districts. He moves to Thunder Bay by 1871 where he marries Sarah Winn in 1876.
Moose Factory
1870
Frances Swanson, a daughter of William and Frances, marries Métis John Saunders, a missionary and former HBC employee in Moose Factory.
1905
Emily Swanson marries Andrew Morrison, one of the Métis signatories of the 1905 Moose Factory Halfbreed Petition.
1859-1884
Thomas Swanson, a son of William and Frances works for the HBC in Moose Factory.
1894
Robert Swanson applies for scrip from Fort William where he identifies himself and his mother as "Halfbreed."
1891-1911
Thomas Swanson and his Métis wife, Jane, move to Missanabi by 1891 where he continues work with the HBC.
Thunder Bay (Fort William)
Missanabi
Kenogamissi
Michipicoten
Lake Superior
1881-1901
Frances Swanson, John Saunders, and their children move to Kenogamissi and then Biscotasing where John continues work as an Anglican missionary.
Biscotasing

"A small Colony of very useful hands": HBC Careers Take AIMC Members Across West Central North America

In the early 1800s HBC directors were clear in their hopes of creating "a small Colony of very useful hands"[22] which had a direct impact on the AIMC and their movement throughout west central North America in the generations that followed. The careers of William Polson, Peter Loutit, and several Turner family members illustrate the geographical and occupational trajectories of Métis within and beyond the AIMC.

The Turners

The Turner family, originally of Moose Factory, is a clear example of Métis from this region working in the fur trade and travelling across the vast stretches of the HBC's trading network.[23] Several of the Turner siblings employed by the HBC travelled thousands of miles across west central North America, integrating with and marrying into other Métis communities to the west and south. Joseph Turner Jr. had a long HBC career more than 1,000 km west of Moose Factory, working in the Island Lake and Cumberland Districts before retiring to Red River.[24] Joseph Jr.'s sister Charlotte moved to Red River from Martin Falls when her husband, James Harper, retired from the HBC and applied for scrip in St. Andrews, Manitoba, in 1875.[25] Philip Turner's son Joseph Alexander Turner, who was born in Moose Factory, moved west to St. Albert, Alberta, and applied for scrip in 1886.[26]

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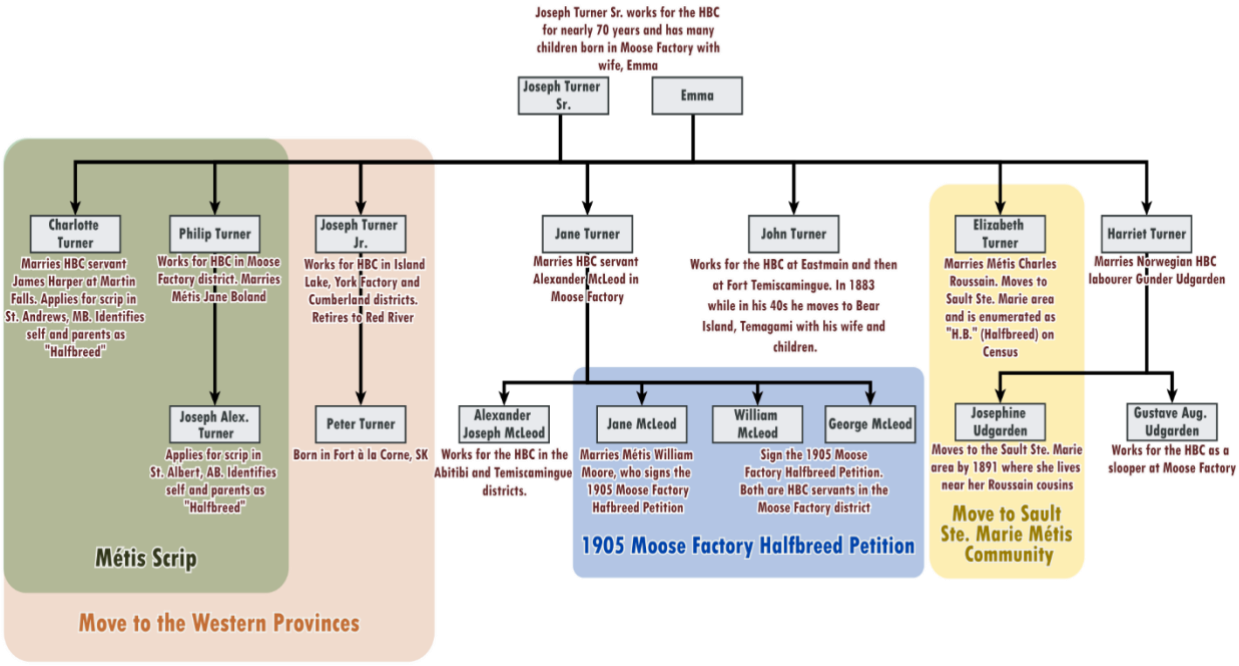
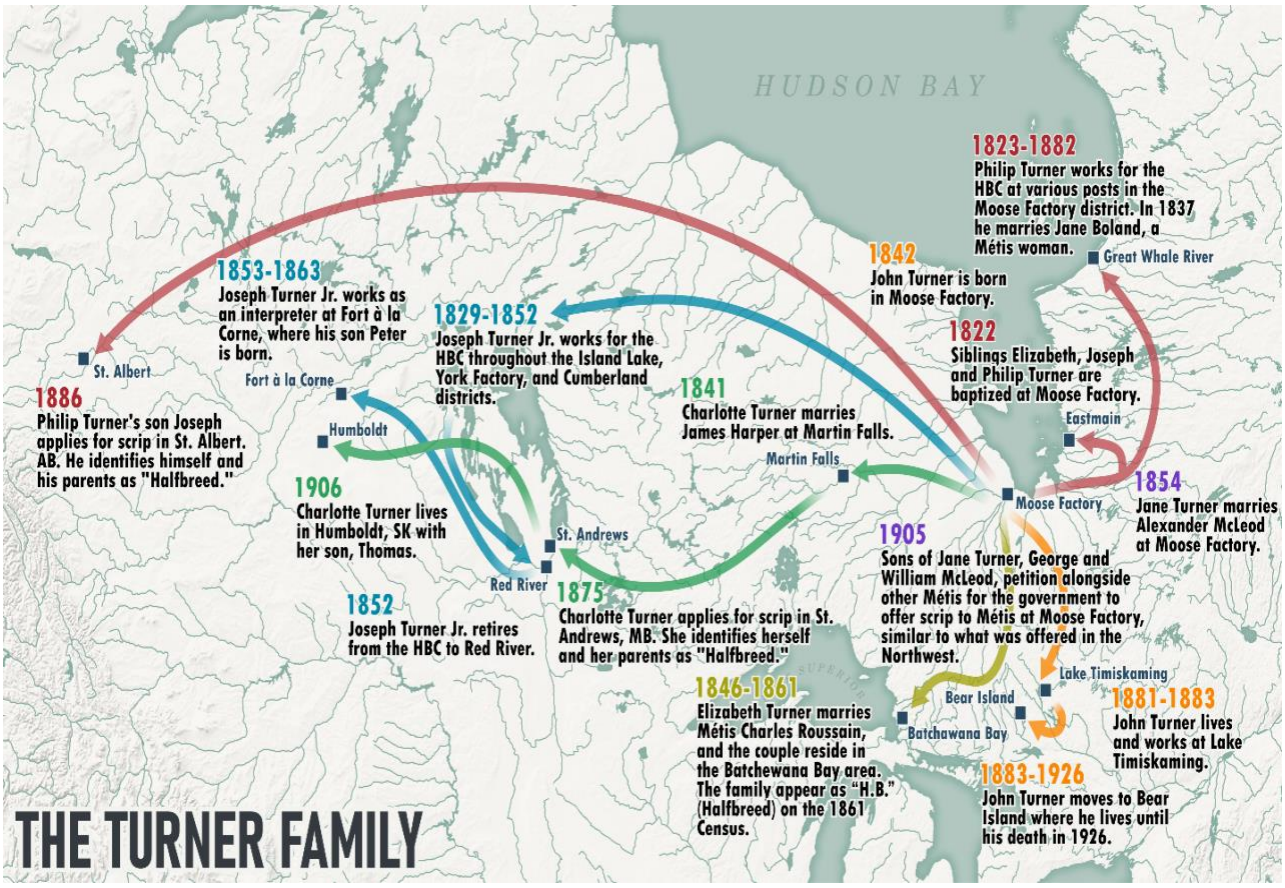
[22] Quoted in Carol Judd, "Mixed Bloods of Moose Factory, 1730-1981: A Socio-Economic Study," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 6, no. 2 (March 1982), 72-73.
[23] For more information about the Turner family, see the Métis Nation of Ontario's Verified Métis Family Line reports for the McLeod-Turner, Udgarden-Moar, and Roussain-Turner families.
[24] See *Turner Family Vignette*.
[25] Scrip affidavit Harper, Charlotte, Claim no. 117; 1875. LAC, RG15, Vol. 1321, Reel C-14928.
[26] Scrip affidavit Turner, Joseph Alexander, Claim no 324; 1886.LAC, RG15, Vol. 1369, Reel C-15007.

MEMBERS OF THE TURNER FAMILY


Joseph Turner Sr. works for the HBC for nearly 70 years and has many children born in Moose Factory with wife, Emma
Joseph Turner Sr.
Emma
Charlotte Turner
Marries HBC servant James Harper at Martin Falls. Applies for scrip in St. Andrews, MB. Identifies self and parents as "Halfbreed"
Philip Turner
Works for HBC in Moose Factory district. Marries Métis Jane Boland
Joseph Turner Jr.
Works for HBC in Island Lake, York Factory and Cumberland districts. Retires to Red River
Jane Turner
Marries HBC servant Alexander McLeod in Moose Factory
John Turner
Works for the HBC at Eastmain and then at Fort Temiscamingue. In 1883 while in his 40s he moves to Bear Island, Temagami with his wife and children.
Elizabeth Turner
Marries Métis Charles Roussain. Moves to Sault Ste. Marie area and is enumerated as "H.B." (Halfbreed) on Census
Harriet Turner
Marries Norwegian HBC labourer Gunder Udgarden
Joseph Alex. Turner
Applies for scrip in St. Albert, AB. Identifies self and parents as "Halfbreed"
Peter Turner
Born in Fort à la Corne, SK
Alexander Joseph McLeod
Works for the HBC in the Abitibi and Temiscamingue districts.
Jane McLeod
Marries Métis William Moore, who signs the 1905 Moose Factory Hafbreed Petition
William McLeod
George McLeod
Sign the 1905 Moose Factory Halfbreed Petition. Both are HBC servants in the Moose Factory district
Josephine Udgarden
Moves to the Sault Ste. Marie area by 1891 where she lives near her Roussain cousins
Gustave Aug. Udgarden
Works for the HBC as a slooper at Moose Factory
Métis Scrip
1905 Moose Factory Halfbreed Petition
Move to Sault Ste. Marie Métis Community
Move to the Western Provinces


HUDSON BAY
1823-1882
Philip Turner works for the HBC at various posts in the Moose Factory district. In 1837 he marries Jane Boland, a Métis woman.
Great Whale River
1842
John Turner is born in Moose Factory.
1822
Siblings Elizabeth, Joseph and Philip Turner are baptized at Moose Factory.
Eastmain
1853-1863
Joseph Turner Jr. works as an interpreter at Fort à la Corne, where his son Peter is born.
St. Albert
1829-1852
Joseph Turner Jr. works for the HBC throughout the Island Lake, York Factory, and Cumberland districts.
Fort à la Corne
1841
Charlotte Turner marries James Harper at Martin Falls.
1886
Philip Turner's son Joseph applies for scrip in St. Albert. AB. He identifies himself and his parents as "Halfbreed."
Humboldt
Martin Falls
1906
Charlotte Turner lives in Humboldt, SK with her son, Thomas.
Moose Factory
1854
Jane Turner marries Alexander McLeod at Moose Factory.
St. Andrews
1905
Sons of Jane Turner, George and William McLeod, petition alongside other Métis for the government to offer scrip to Métis at Moose Factory, similar to what was offered in the Northwest.
Red River
1875
Charlotte Turner applies for scrip in St. Andrews, MB. She identifies herself and her parents as "Halfbreed."
1852
Joseph Turner Jr. retires from the HBC to Red River.
Lake Timiskaming
Bear Island
1846-1861
Elizabeth Turner marries Métis Charles Roussain, and the couple reside in the Batchewana Bay area. The family appear as "H.B." (Halfbreed) on the 1861 Census.
Batchawana Bay
1881-1883
John Turner lives and works at Lake Timiskaming.
1883-1926
John Turner moves to Bear Island where he lives until his death in 1926.
THE TURNER FAMILY

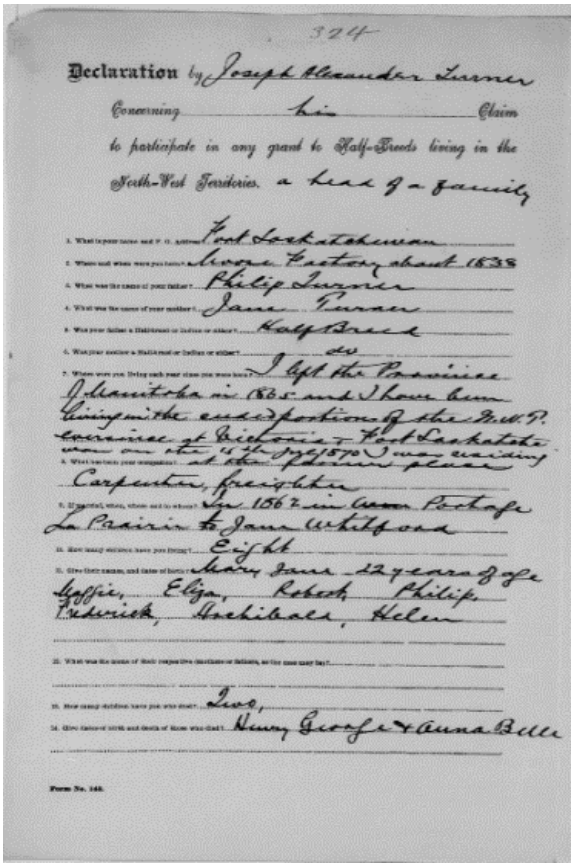
John Turner was a member of the Turner family who stayed in the Abitibi Inland region until the late nineteenth century. Born in Moose Factory in 1842, John worked for the HBC first as an apprentice blacksmith at Eastmain and then as a blacksmith at Temiscamingue for several decades, before moving outside of the Abitibi region to Bear Island, Temagami in 1883.

John's nephew Alexander Joseph McLeod was the son of Jane Turner and Scottish HBC servant Alexander McLeod, who were married at Moose Factory in 1854.[27] Like his brothers, 1905 petitioners William and George McLeod, Alexander Joseph followed his maternal grandfather, uncles, and father into the HBC service. While William and George eventually ended up working for the HBC at Moose Factory, Alexander Joseph began his career as a labourer in the Abitibi and Temiscamingue districts, before relocating to Flying Post in 1892 where he worked as postmaster until 1912.

Another of John's nephews, Gustave Augustine Udgarden, the son of Harriet Turner and Norwegian HBC laborer Gunder Udgarden, was born in Moose Factory in 1870 and worked for the HBC as a slooper at Moose Factory between 1884 and 1908.

Gustave Augustine Udgarden worked for the HBC at Moose Factory for several decades. He is pictured here with his Métis wife, Emily Moar. Credit: Bradle AJ Georgekish, Moose River Heritage.

Alexander Joseph McLeod in his dog sleigh at Flying Post. Credit: Archives of Ontario, Donald B. Smith fonds, C 273-1-0-22-20.



Declaration by Joseph Alexander Turner

Concerning his Claim

to participate in any grant to Half-Breeds living in the North-West Territories. a head of a family

Fort Lockatchewan

Moose Factory about 1838

Philip Turner

Jane Turner

Half Breed

do

I left the Province of Manitoba in 1885 and I have been living in the extreme portion of the N.W.T. ever since at Victoria & Fort Lockatchewan when on the 4th July 1870 I was residing at the former place

Carpenter, freighter

In 1867 in Moose Portage La Prairie to Jane Whitford

Eight

Mary Jane 22 years of age Effie, Eliza, Robert, Philip, Frederick, Archibald, Helen

Two,

Henry George & Anna Belle

Form No. 148.

The 1886 scrip application of Joseph Alexander Turner, son of Philip Turner and nephew of John Turner, notes that he was born at Moose Factory. Credit: Library and Archives Canada.

[27] Alexander McLeod, forebearer for the McLeod-Turner family, started working for the HBC in 1847. He was first stationed at Temiscamingue as an apprentice postmaster and labourer. There, he married Jane Turner of the Turner family. McLeod worked as a carpenter at Moose Factory before being relocated to Abitibi and finally, in 1884, returned to Moose/New Post to work as a postmaster.

William Polson

Other AIMC members, in addition to the western James Bay coast, spent their lives in Abitibi Inland, living on the lakes, waterways, and portages of the Moose, Abitibi, and Mattagami Rivers.

William Polson was born in Rupert's Land around 1784, the son of a First Nations woman and a European man named "William Paulson." Little is known about Polson's early life; however, when baptized in Montreal in 1809, he was documented as being "from Hudson's Bay."[28] He was also involved in the fur trade early in the nineteenth century, as he "defected to the Nor'Westers on the Bay in 1804,"[29] but returned to service with the HBC in 1821. In total, William's fur trade career lasted more than 50 years. Beginning in 1821, Polson worked as an interpreter at Abitibi Post and briefly at Moose Factory. He married Flora L'Eveque dit Otenimakwe at Abitibi in 1838, and their marriage record stated they were "tous les deux métiss."[30] Following 24 years at Abitibi, Polson spent the final three years of his career as postmaster at Temiscamingue, retiring in 1857.[31]

Peter Henry Louttit

Peter Henry Louttit, like his father John Louttit, was an Eastmain servant who had a long career with the HBC. He worked for the Company for 44 years, first as apprentice cooper at Temiscamingue Post in 1849, then as a cooper at Moose Factory, Albany River, and finally Osnaburgh House (in what is now classified as northwestern Ontario) in 1892.[32] By 1901, Peter was living with his "half breed" wife, Jane Marcette, at Fort Albany, where he died in 1903.[33]

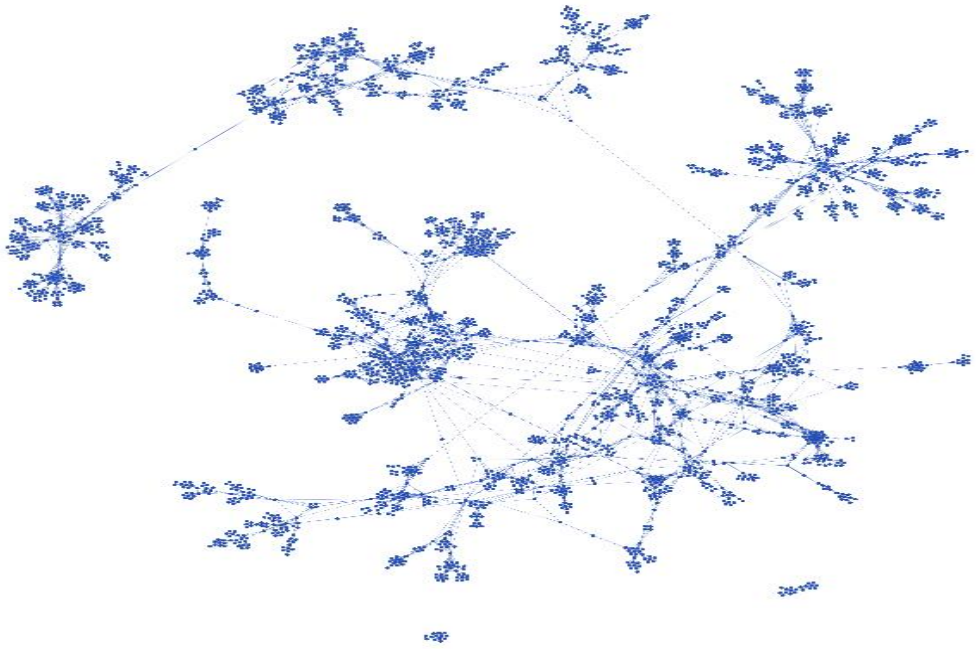
The Extensive Kinship within the AIMC

In terms of population, the AIMC was a small but strong community knit together by kinship. Métis of Abitibi Inland married into each other's families over the generations, and witnessed important life events like weddings, baptisms, and burials. Some of these kinship markers can be demonstrated through Social Network Analysis, which shows that, by 1905, AIMC families were linked in an extensive multi-generational kinship network. Kinship connections continued to expand over subsequent generations, bringing families closer together by 1931, the year of the most recently available Census of Canada data.

In the graph below, several Métis families of the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions are clustered in a significant group, showing connections between the Vincent, Louttit, Polson,

[28] Métis Nation of Ontario, "Polson Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2017).
[29] For Polson's defection to the NWC, see Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 217.
[30] Marriage of William Polson and Flora l'Eveque dit Otemimakwe, Catholic Church, Diocese of Pembroke (Ontario), Roman Catholic Church Records, Pembroke Parish Registers, 1836-1842. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Genealogical Society of Utah, 1981. Microfilm 1703968, Image 70. Accessed on FamilySearch.org. For more information on the Polson family, see Métis Nation of Ontario, "Polson Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2017).
[31] Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Biographical Sheet for William Polson Jr., June 1999, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/_docs/hbca/biographical/p/polson_william-jr.pdf
[32] Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Biographical Sheet for Peter Louttit, June 1999, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/_docs/hbca/biographical/l/louttit_peter.pdf
[33] Jane is described as "half breed" on the scrip application of their son John Louttit. See LAC, RG15, D-II-1, Vol. 707, File 357168. For more information on the Louttit-Kijekijikokwe family, see Métis Nation of Ontario, "Louttit-Kijekijikokwe Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2021).

Swanson, Linklater, Turner, Saunders, Favell,[34] and other families, by 1931.[35] Note that the graph does not represent the totality of all kinship connections among members of the AIMC, but rather all known kinship documented in fur trade, church, and government documents.



Social Network Analysis of the Abitibi Inland Historic Métis Community by 1931. For more on Social Network Analysis and how to interpret this graph, see Appendix 1.

Many of these connections resulted from the ties Métis families fostered while working together in the fur trade. For example, in 1847, a Métis man named Angus McBride married Flora Polson, daughter of William Polson and Flora L'Eveque dit Otenimakwe. As an HBC labourer at Temiscamingue Post, McBride likely met Flora in Abitibi, where her father William was the longtime HBC postmaster. William would have made regular trips to Abitibi; at the time, Abitibi was the regular transportation corridor between Temiscamingue and Moose Factory, which supplied the post's provisions and exported its furs. Similarly, around the time that both worked at Temiscamingue Post, Angus McBride was named godfather to John Louttit's son Peter Henry Louttit. In 1882, Alexander Joseph McLeod made an important connection at Temiscamingue too, marrying William's granddaughter Jane, who had grown up within the Métis homes that popped up around Lake Temiscamingue, near the HBC district headquarters where McLeod worked between 1879 and 1883.

[34] For more information about these families see the Métis Nation of Ontario's Verified Métis Family Line reports for the Vincent-Renton, Louttit-Kijekijikokwe, Linklater-Potts, Turner (McLeod-Turner, Udgarden-Moar, and Roussain-Turner), Saunders-Leblanc, and Favell-Titameg families. See also the reports for the McPherson and Goodwin-Mistigoose (Amendment report) families.

[35] Between 1905 and 1931, the children and grandchildren of Rachel Goodwin of the Goodwin-Mistigoose family, who was born inMoose Factory in 1843,formedkinship with other Métis families of AIMC including the Mecowatch-Puskewiatch, Favell-Titameg, Saunders-Leblanc, and Swanson-Robinson families. For example, Maria Sailors witnessed the marriage of John George Corston (Favell-Titameg family) and Lydia Swanson(Swanson-Robinson family) in 1907.

While SNA shows certain kinds of connections, other connections—like families living in proximity to one another—are not reflected in the data. For example, the 1911 Census of Canada records Clementina Fraser Scott (Fraser-McDonald family) living beside the families of Thomas Linklater (Linklater-Potts family) and James Hunter (Hunter family) at Moose Factory. While these connections are not reflected in the SNA, they do indicate living patterns and socialization between the families later reflected in church and civic records. Almost 20 years after the Scott and Hunter households were recorded near one another at Moose Factory, James Hunter's adult daughter Alice Hunter witnessed the weddings of two of Clementina Scott's children, when all three were in Cochrane, nearly 353 km south of Moose Factory. The AIMC's kinship connections endured over generations, and across the region's geography.

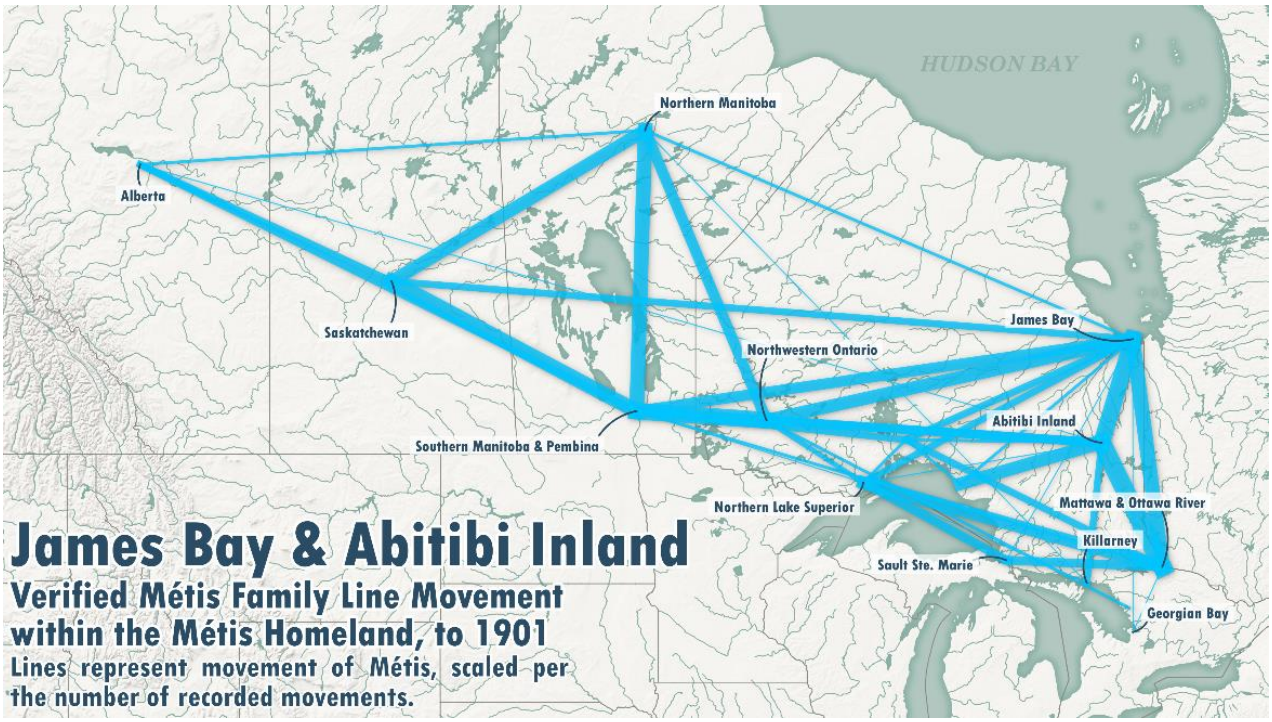
"Alice Hunter, Métis, at Moosonee near Moose Factory, Ontario.", [ca. 1912], (CU180884) by Unknown. Credit: Glenbow Library and Archives Collection, Libraries and Cultural Resources Digital Collections, University of Calgary.

Research regarding these kinship networks is always ongoing. The SNA of the AIMC goes to 1931, incorporating the most recently publicly available Census of Canada data. However, the AIMC has continued to build kinship into the present. In a 2022 oral history interview, a descendant of Thomas Vincent (one the AIMC members who petitioned for scrip from Moose Factory in 1893) who was born in Cochrane, raised in Moosonee, and now lives in South Porcupine, described his regular hunting companions as members of the Miller and Udgarden families.[36]

[36] Oral History with Lorne Tyrer, May 9, 2022, Interviewer Keely McCavitt.

The AIMC's Ties to Other Métis Communities

The Turner and Saunder families are not isolated examples of Métis movement throughout west central North America. Many Métis from Abitibi Inland moved through the regions of the Métis Homeland west of what is now Ontario. As the map below depicts, Métis from the Abitibi Inland region moved across west central North America: travelling to Lake Superior, the Red River valley, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Northern Manitoba.



Map showing the movement of Verified Métis Family Lines within the Métis Homeland, up to 1901. The lines are scaled to represent the number of recorded movements (i.e., a thicker line indicates greater movement).

This movement fostered connections between the Métis of the AIMC and other Métis communities across the Métis Homeland. Within Ontario, the AIMC had strong connections to the Northwestern Ontario Métis Community ("**NWOMC**"). Their overlapping trade routes west of the Albany River meant they interacted at posts like Lac Seul and Osnaburgh House. Families from the Abitibi region, including McPherson, Goodwin-Mistigoose, Favell-Titameg, and Vincent-Renton, all demonstrate shared mobility and kinship between the NWOMC and the AIMC. Maria King, a Métis woman born in Moose Factory in 1845, married Charles Stuart Crowe in Moose Factory before Charles's work with the HBC took the family west to Lac Seul, and later to Fort Frances and Rat Portage in the Lac La Pluie District. Their children are the ancestors of the Crowe-King family.[37]

The AIMC was also historically connected to Métis families in the Mattawa area. Family ties were formed at Temiscamingue, a nexus point for these two Métis communities, with the Polson family providing an example of kinship between families connected to the Abitibi Inland/western James Bay and Mattawa/Ottawa River regions. In 1899, Mary Jane Stanger, great-granddaughter of

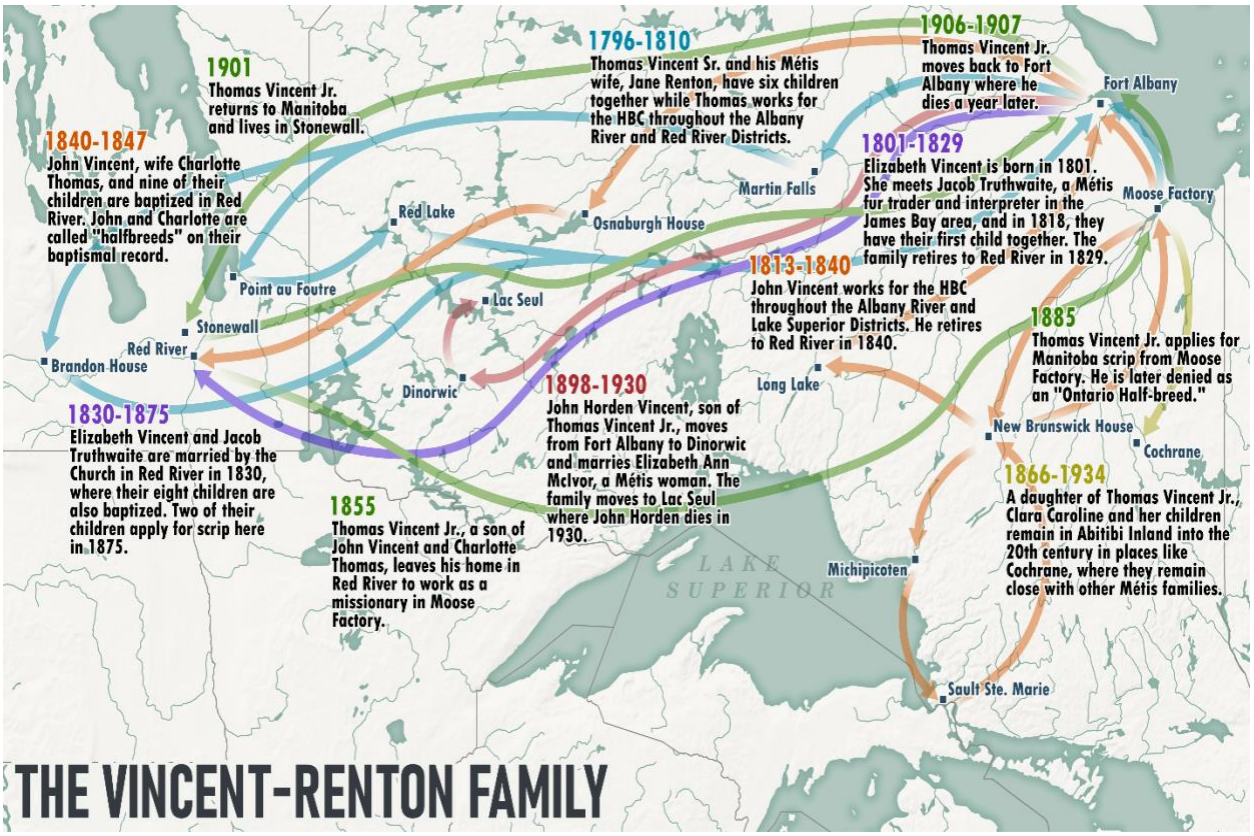
[37] For more information on the Crowe-King family, see Métis Nation of Ontario, "Crowe-King Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2017).

William Polson, married George McKenzie of the Atkinson-Moore family.[38] George also served as the godfather to Mary Jane's niece Philomene Flora Frances Stanger and cousin Betsey Polson when they were baptized near Lake Temiscamingue in 1904 and 1910, respectively. The McDonnell-McKay family also had significant kinship with Mattawa families like the Leclerc and the Ferris-Good families.[39]

Families of the AIMC also connected to the Sault Ste. Marie Métis Community, including through marriages between well-known Roussain and Turner families. Elizabeth Turner, the sister of John Turner, moved to the Sault Ste. Marie area in 1846 after marrying Charles Roussain, becoming an ancestor of the Roussain-Turner family line. Some of Elizabeth's nieces, the children of Harriet Turner and Gunder Udgarden, joined her in the Sault Ste. Marie area in the succeeding years. In 1891, Josephine Udgarden was living beside her cousins Edgar and John Joseph Roussain in Mamainse, also known as Roussainville after the Roussain family. Josephine's son John Frederic Carlson married Virginie Davieux of the Cadrant-Clermont family, whose brother Arthur was a famous fiddle player at Agawa Bay.[40] As already described in this submission, the Turner family also had connections to Red River and other points further west.[41]

Other Métis families of the AIMC also had close, intergenerational connections to the Red River settlement. One early example is Mary Favell—an ancestor to the Favell family well known on the prairies—who along with some of her children moved to Manitoba around 1800.

[38] For more information on the Atkinson-Moore family, see Métis Nation of Ontario, "Atkinson-Moore Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2017), also see *Atkinson-Moore Family Vignette*.
[39] For more information on these families, see the Métis Nation of Ontario's Verified Métis Family Line reports for the McDonell-McKay, Ferris-Good and Leclerc families.
[40] For more information on these families, see the Métis Nation of Ontario's Verified Métis Family Line reports for the Roussain-Turner, Udgarden-Moar and Cadrant-Clermont families.
[41] See *Turner Family Vignette*.


1796-1810
Thomas Vincent Sr. and his Métis wife, Jane Renton, have six children together while Thomas works for the HBC throughout the Albany River and Red River Districts.
1901
Thomas Vincent Jr. returns to Manitoba and lives in Stonewall.
1906-1907
Thomas Vincent Jr. moves back to Fort Albany where he dies a year later.
Fort Albany
1840-1847
John Vincent, wife Charlotte Thomas, and nine of their children are baptized in Red River. John and Charlotte are called "halfbreeds" on their baptismal record.
1801-1829
Elizabeth Vincent is born in 1801. She meets Jacob Truthwaite, a Métis fur trader and interpreter in the James Bay area, and in 1818, they have their first child together. The family retires to Red River in 1829.
Martin Falls
Moose Factory
Red Lake
Osnaburgh House
Point au Foutre
1813-1840
John Vincent works for the HBC throughout the Albany River and Lake Superior Districts. He retires to Red River in 1840.
Lac Seul
Stonewall
Red River
Brandon House
1885
Thomas Vincent Jr. applies for Manitoba scrip from Moose Factory. He is later denied as an "Ontario Half-breed."
Dinorwic
1898-1930
John Horden Vincent, son of Thomas Vincent Jr., moves from Fort Albany to Dinorwic and marries Elizabeth Ann McIvor, a Métis woman. The family moves to Lac Seul where John Horden dies in 1930.
Long Lake
1830-1875
Elizabeth Vincent and Jacob Truthwaite are married by the Church in Red River in 1830, where their eight children are also baptized. Two of their children apply for scrip here in 1875.
New Brunswick House
Cochrane
1866-1934
A daughter of Thomas Vincent Jr., Clara Caroline and her children remain in Abitibi Inland into the 20th century in places like Cochrane, where they remain close with other Métis families.
1855
Thomas Vincent Jr., a son of John Vincent and Charlotte Thomas, leaves his home in Red River to work as a missionary in Moose Factory.
LAKE SUPERIOR
Michipicoten
Sault Ste. Marie
THE VINCENT-RENTON FAMILY

An example of ongoing movement between the Red River valley and the Abitibi Inland region is the Vincent-Renton family. As the above map shows, the extended family maintained close ties across west central North America, with many family members moving between the Abitibi Inland region and Red River over several generations.[42]

Archdeacon Thomas Vincent stands on the far left in this photograph of Hudson's Bay employees from the area around Moose Factory. Thomas's brother, James Vincent, is pictured second from the right. Credit: The Beaver (June 1930), 21.

Members of the Vincent-Renton family who moved back and forth between the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions and Red River included Archdeacon Thomas Vincent (Thomas Vincent Jr.) and his brother James. Their father, John Vincent, was stationed in the Albany District before retiring to Red River in 1840, bringing his family with him. Thomas and James attended school in Red River before returning east, both to Fort Albany by around 1860.[43] While Thomas became a priest, James also

[42] See *Vincent-Renton Family Vignette*.
[43] John S. Long, "Archdeacon Thomas Vincent of Moosonee and the Handicap of "Métis" Racial Status," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3, no. 1 (1983): 98-99.

had a short career as a clergyman before joining the HBC like his father. James worked as a clerk at Fort Albany between 1877 and 1884. After a period working in the Rupert's River district, he returned to Albany as Junior Chief Trader between 1890 and 1898. James retired to Stonewall, Manitoba, by 1908. Thomas also retired to Stonewall for a short time, from 1901 to 1906, before being called back to Fort Albany due to a shortage of clergyman. He died at Fort Albany in 1907 and was buried in Moose Factory.[44]

Economic Niches and Realities of the AIMC

Between 1800 and 1870, HBC records document Métis in the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions hunting, trapping, and snaring a variety of birds and game, including geese, partridges, beaver, martins, and rabbits. Fishing—especially for whitefish—was common too. While much of their harvesting was done to provision the HBC's fur trade posts, Métis also harvested to feed their families.

Métis women played an essential role in provisioning the posts of Abitibi Inland, and participated in hunting, snaring, fishing, and maple sugar production; making and repairing nets; gathering spruce gum for canoe repairs; and lacing and repairing snowshoes. Fur trade era documents contain multiple instances of women of the AIMC, including Joseph Turner's Métis wife Emma, participating in hunting and fishing. In 1812, the postmaster at Kenogamissi described sending "Joseph Turnor, & his wife, and John Kirkness to the fishing place with as many kegs as could be found for curing fish in."[45] A particularly notable description comes from Abitibi Post in the summer of 1823, when the postmaster described Flora L'Eveque dit Otenimakwe: "Polson's woman killed 7 muskrats, 3 ducks, and 1 pigeon… she is an excellent hand at dressing beaver skins."[46]

John Saunders, who spent his early years at the inland posts including Matawagamingue and New Post, recalled that in the 1840s and 1850s, only a small quantity of English provisions could be transported with trading merchandise along the "long and difficult" journey from Moose Factory, meaning that Métis families had to furnish provisions to sustain themselves over the winter months.[47] At Flying Post, John snared hares for the post, sometimes delivering up to 30 hares at one time. His father, Valentine Saunders, had a nearby hunting camp to provide better access to game and provide for the Saunders family. In the winter of 1848, the postmaster commended Valentine's generosity to another man at the post, writing: "For poor Valentine notwithstanding his numerous and needy family has presently given Tom both fish and hares when he would not procure them himself."[48]

Although many Métis in Abitibi Inland transitioned away from the fur trade into occupations with the railroad and lumbering at the beginning of the twentieth century, hunting remained an integral

[44] "Obituary: From Work to Rest, Ven. Archdeacon Vincent D.D., Dies in the Field of his Fifty Years' Missionary Activity," *Free Press Prairie Farmer*, March 13, 1907 (Winnipeg, Manitoba), 10.
[45] Kenogamissi Post Journal, 1812-1813. HBCA, B.99/a/14, fos. 3d.
[46] Abitibi Post Journal, August 28, 1823. HBCA, Abitibi Post Journal, 1823-1824, B.1/a/18.
[47] John Saunders, "My Autobiography, July 18, 1876" John Saunders Fonds, General Synod Archives. Saunders explains this was one of the reasons why there were rarely more than "five or six [HBC servants] beside the gentleman in charge" residing at Matawagamingue and "generally no more than two married families at the place."
[48] Flying Post Journal, December 20, 1848. HBCA, Flying Post Journal, 1847-1848, B.70/a/21, 1M53. Tom's surname is not identified. This could be the same person as the Thomas Moore frequently described in Flying Post journals between 1841 and 1845. See Praxis (2001): 9.

part of life. This was highlighted by the community in their own words when, in 1905, Métis petitioners in Moose Factory[49] wrote:

> "We have been born and brought up in the country, and are thus by our birth and training unfit to obtain a livelihood in the civilized world. Should the fur traders at any time require our services we should be obliged to support ourselves by hunting."[50]

Almost 30 years later, a 1934 newspaper article published in Sault Ste. Marie described two of the petitioners as follows: "Willie McLeod and Willie Moore, pensioners of the Hudson's Bay Co. who have hunted and trapped out of Moose Factory for fifty years."[51]

Today, harvesting remains an important practice for the AIMC and a vital part of how community members provide for their families. In oral history interviews conducted with Métis elders of the AIMC in 2022, participants spoke of the importance of harvesting for their families. A descendant of the Udgarden-Moar and Roussain-Turner families explained:

> "I think [harvesting is] about tradition and keeping your family together and stuff like that. And using those traditions, like the ceremonial tobacco, we always say a prayer […] Hunting together with your family […] Teaching the ways of how to be together and stuff like that as a family. It's an integral part of our community here."[52]

A descendant of the Vincent family explained:

> "Fishing was a big thing. The whitefish were a huge source of food as well, twice a year. It's kind of interesting how people used the land. We had access to the fish twice a year, we had access to the geese twice a year, and from each season to each season, people made that food source last. I don't recall eating much beef or chicken or turkey as a kid. There wasn't a high school in Moosonee, so my first introduction to that kind of food and TV was—we got sent away to high school."[53]

Discussing the importance of harvesting to the AIMC, the same descendant—an MNO citizen—described the importance of the *Powley* victory to the Métis of Abitibi Inland:

> "The Métis weren't allowed to harvest [for goose] in the spring. Now we are, thank goodness for the Harvesting Card. And what the Powley family accomplished for us and everybody else that led the charge in that area. I recall hunting as a young guy in the spring, but it was kind of done on the sly. You'd leave the house before daylight, and you'd hunt close along the river, and you wouldn't come back until after dark because back then—it wasn't called the Ministry of Natural Resources, it was called Department of Lands and Forests—they had a presence in our community, but we sneaked it."[54]

[49] These being William McLeod, George McLeod, Andrew Morrison, William Moore and William Archibald, for more information see (1905 Halfbreed Petition).
[50] 1905 Petition for Scrip from the Half-Breeds of Moose Factory. LAC, RG10, Vol 3093, File 289,300 Reel C-9667.
[51] "Wolves Trail Humans but won't attack, Trappers of Moosonee District Say," *The Sault Star,* January 22, 1934.
[52] Bruce Holmes, interviewed by Know History Inc., May 2, 2022.
[53] Lorne Tyrer, interviewed by Know History Inc., May 9, 2022.
[54] Lorne Tyrer, interviewed by Know History Inc., May 9, 2022.

A Distinctly Métis Culture within the Abitibi Inland Region: Fiddles, Fishing, and Familiar Housing

Like Métis across the Homeland, the Métis of Abitibi Inland had a vibrant and well-documented cultural expression which is distinctly identifiable as Métis. References to cultural traits such as fiddling, fishing, and housing patterns can be found in the historic record.

Fiddles, Red River Jigs, and Dancing

Accounts from Métis and outside observers describe jigs (including the "Red River jigs"[55]), fiddle music, and dances at places including Moose Factory and Timiskaming. Around 1873, a visitor to the HBC Timiskaming Post described the kind of dances and the dynamic between Indians and "half-breed" participants at a dance held on Christmas Day, writing:

> "There were several pretty half-breed girls present, and they openly laughed at my efforts to show them to the best of my ability how the thing was done in the best circles in England; and they made uncomplimentary remarks in their mother tongue. I understood the laugh though I did not understand the language. Their dance was a kind of jig with a mixture of Scotch, Irish and Indian movement in it."[56]

Charles Cobbold Farr noted a distinct "halfbreed" cohort, who he viewed differently from the First Nations he witnessed dancing, writing:

> "The half-breeds were the aristocrats. The more humble pure-bloods dropping into the background when the proud possessors of a drop of white blood wished to "take the floor."[57]

Farr's description reveals the racial stereotypes of nineteenth-century settlers, but it also sets a scene of "halfbreeds" dancing as a group at the HBC post. It shows they were seen as distinct, and that they displayed a cultural expression which was easily distinguishable from their First Nations neighbours.

Other descriptions of jigs are found in historical records. More than 40 years later, Canadian government officials described the musicianship of the "half-breeds" they employed as guides and canoe-men and cooks on the Treaty 9 expedition. This included Métis Jimmy Swain, the 1905 expedition's head guide, who was born in northwestern Ontario but lived, worked, and married in the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions, which he knew well enough to guide the treaty commissioners through. Commissioner Samuel Stewart wrote in his journal, describing the excursion:

> "Our head guide Jimmy Swain came to the front in a new role at this portage. He had brought a fiddle with him of which he was inordinately proud. With this he laid himself out to entertain both whites and Indians by playing Red River jigs, and other dance music, as well as hymn tunes with many variations of his own. It was far on in the night,

[55] "The James Bay Treaty 9. Places Visited by the Commissioners, Summer of 1905," 18. LAC, RG 10, Vol. 11399, Pt. 1, T-6924.
[56] "Success! The Life of Charles Cobbold Farr, a Colonist in Canada as Told by Himself," 113-114. LAC, MG29-C40, M-128.
[57] "Success! The Life of Charles Cobbold Farr, a Colonist in Canada as Told by Himself," 113-114. LAC, MG29-C40, M-128.

and most of us were asleep, before Jimmy was allowed to put aside his fiddle and roll into his blankets."[58]

Fiddles were also an important part of the AIMC's musical culture. Describing a dance attended by many community members which took place at Moose Factory on New Year's Day in 1859, Halfbreed Patrick Faries recalled that he had been "playing the fiddle at the time" a fight broke out between the HBC's "Half-breed" and Norwegian servants. Faries eventually brought the fight to an end when he broke the fiddle against the head of his assailant.[59]

Jimmy Swain is pictured on the right, alongside Treaty 9 Commissioners T.C. Rae, Samuel Stewart, and D.G. MacMartin. Credit: Canada. Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development / Library and Archives Canada / PA-059535.

Music remained a vital aspect of life for Métis in Moose Factory. In 1913, an unidentified writer described a wedding that had taken place at Moose Factory the previous year:

> "There were half-breeds bridesmaids and maids of honor; groomsmen togged in buckskin and moccasins; music of accordeons [sic] and fiddles; a huge "dejeuner" and a cake big enough for a baby igloo. Guns were fired. There was a big dance. People came over the trails from the outermost confines of Moose Factory. And for weeks this event was talked about; because it was the most remarkable ever known at Moose Factory. The mission workers talked about it. So did the Hudson Bay clerks. So did the half-breeds. Likewise the Indians."[60]

Houses at Moose Factory, Temiscamingue, and Abitibi

By the early nineteenth century, many Métis families attached to posts like Moose Factory and Temiscamingue lived in houses on the trading post grounds, as groups of Métis families became a feature of the fur trade. In 1836, George Moore Sr. was described "fitting up a dwelling House for himself and Family."[61] Ten years earlier, in 1828, the factor at Moose Factory noted that "those who have Families and live in separate houses were allowed to purchase some wood for themselves before the Snow becomes too deep in the Woods."[62] In May 1864, the

William and George McLeod built this house together at Moose Factory around 1890. Its design was influenced by the shipbuilding skills of Moose Factory's Métis carpenters and shipwrights. Source: Canada's Historic Places.

[58] "The James Bay Treaty 9. Places Visited by the Commissioners, Summer of 1905," 18. LAC RG 10, Vol. 11399, Pt. 1, T-6924.
[59] This event is described in greater detail in the "Collective Identity" section.
[60] "The Event of the Season: A Wedding at Moose Factory is Some Social Function," *The Daily British Whig* (Kingston, Ontario), February 18, 1913.
[61] Moose Factory Post Journal, August 1, 1836, Moose Factory Post Journal, 1835-1836, B.135/a/140, Hudson's Bay Company Archive.
[62] Moose Factory Post Journal, November 15, 1828, Moose Factory Post Journal, 1828-1829, B.135/a/134, Hudson's Bay Company Archive.

Moose Factory postmaster wrote: “Jas. King working at new house for himself […] J. King with Faries & T. Swanson working at his house.”[63]

The HBC’s "Halfbreed servants" were also recorded living in wooden houses at Timiskaming. As surveyor William E. Logan described: “There is a small quantity of cultivated land about the house. The soil is gravelly. There are a few wooden houses in the vicinity for the servants or voyageurs of the Company all inhabited by halfbreeds.”[64]

C. A. Paradis, “Chantier au Lac Temiskaming,” 1882. Credit: Library and Archives Canada 1977-011 DAP.

Like Métis from many communities across the Homeland, including the Upper Great Lakes, the Métis of Abitibi Inland lived in detached wooden houses. Métis in Sault Ste. Marie and Georgian Bay both built homes out of cedar bark and sometimes logs.[65] The log homes at Temiscamingue, as described by William Logan and seen in an 1882 sketch by Catholic Missionary C. A. Paradis, were likely also built from cedar and balsam—the tree stands that attracted loggers to the region beginning in the 1840s. Further north, at Moose Factory, Métis servants constructed their homes using the skills they developed working at the HBC’s coastal port. The house that William and George McLeod built at Moose Factory in 1889-1890 for George, soon after his marriage, employed shipbuilding techniques that would have been familiar to both men from their work for the HBC.[66]

Similar to the observations about Métis housing patterns made by Crown officials who travelled throughout the Upper Great Lakes in the middle of the nineteenth century, the houses occupied by the Métis families of AIMC were distinct from the homes of First Nations within the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions.[67] This stood out to government surveyors when they began travelling through the region in the late nineteenth century, investigating the region’s natural resources and opportunities for settlement. When they arrived at Moose Factory in 1879, surveyors described “some twenty-five or thirty cottages for the servants of the Hudson’s Bay Company” which were all “good, substantial wooden buildings.” These could be clearly distinguished from the “forty or fifty tents usually to be seen here during summer.”[68]

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[63] Moose Factory Post Journal, May 11-23, 1864, Moose Factory Post Journal, 1863-1864, B. 135/a/180, Hudson’s Bay Company Archive. Similar entries appear in Moose Factory Post Journals for dates between 1817-1895. For more on family dwellings at Moose Factory, see Praxis (2005): 62-67.

[64] Charles H. Smith and Ian Dyck, eds, *William E. Logan’s 1845 Survey of the Upper Ottawa Valley* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization: 2007), 161.

[65] For example, the Cadotte home on Mackinaw Island was “made of logs covered in cedar bark.” Edwin Orin Wood, *Historic Mackinac: The Historical, Picturesque and Legendary Features of the Mackinac Country* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1918), 404.

[66] “HBC Worker’s House – McLeod House,” Canada’s Historic Places. Accessed March 8, 2024.

[67] See for example, “Letter from John Driver to E. B. Borron, June 5 1893,” Irving Papers, F1027-1-2, Box 27, 32, Reel MS-1780, Archives of Ontario.

[68] E. B. Borron, “Report on the Basin of Moose River and Adjacent Country Belonging to the Province of Ontario,” (Toronto: 1890) https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.06163/3

Hudson's Bay Co.'s Post, Abitibi, 1905. Note the tents in this photograph.
Credit: Canada. Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development/Library and Archives Canada/PA-059518.

Ontario surveyors were equally explicit when noting distinctions in the living arrangements of "the Indians" and "the halfbreeds" of Lake Abitibi in 1900. While the former "live in tents the most of the year, a few of them build teepees or wigwams in the winter, but most of them live in tents even in the winter," the report of exploration survey party no. 1 noted: "The half breeds and there are many of them among these Indians, usually have huts or log-houses and show more thrift than the Indians, for they usually have a little garden of potatoes, onions, etc."[69]

A Clear and Expressed Collective Métis Identity within the Abitibi Inland and Western James Bay Regions

Living patterns and way of life were not the only way which Métis of Abitibi Inland displayed a distinct identity apart from First Nations, settlers, and within the ranks of the HBC. They demonstrated this identity in their own words and collective actions, which were in turn recognized by outsiders.

The 1859 Moose Factory Fight Night

As touched upon briefly above, in 1859, Métis at Moose Factory acted as a distinct cohort when a fight broke out between "the Half breeds" and Norwegian labourers[70] at the HBC post's annual New Year's Day dance. The fight caused such mayhem that on January 4th the Chief Factor at Moose Factory was still reporting: "Very little work was done today at the Factory, I was occupied nearly the whole day in adjusting the difficulties between the Norwegians & Half Breeds."[71] Patrick Faries, one of the participants, later recalled "we were about ten Breeds in that fight."[72]

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[69] "Report of Exploration Survey Party No. 1," in "Report of the Survey and Exploration of Northern Ontario, 1900" p. 37. Accessed March 14, 2024, https://albinger.files.wordpress.com/2020/12/report-of-the-survey-and-exploration-of-northern-ontario-1900..pdf.

[70] The HBC first used Norwegian prisoners of war as part of its labour force in present-day Manitoba in 1814-1817 (hence the name "Norway House"). In the 1850s, HBC Governor Sir Goerge Simpson again attempted to staff some of its posts with Norwegian labourers. There were 17 Norwegians at Moose Factory in 1858-1859. See "Moose – Abstract of Servants' Accounts, 1858-1859," HBCA B.135/g/42. Fos. 1-13.

[71] Moose Factory Post Journal, 1858-1859, HBCA B.135/a/170.

[72] Men involved included Patrick Faries, James Linklater (of the Linklater Potts family), James King Jr. (the brother of Maria King of the Crowe-King family), James Morrison (a Moose Factory boat builder born in the Northwest Territories in 1817, whose children were documented as "M.E." (Métis Ecossais) and "Half Breed" on the 1901 and 1921 Census) and "Scotsman" Isaac Hunter (forebearer of the Hunter -Macdonald family).

After the incident, many Norwegians ended their contracts and returned home, refusing to work at Moose Factory any longer. Eventually, Gunder Udgarden, a cook and the only Norwegian left at Moose Factory, married into the Métis community, becoming the husband of Harriet Turner in 1864.[73]

The story of the Moose Factory Fight Night was passed down as an oral history within the Moore and Faries families. Mary Moore told a version to her children, and a version passed down by Pat Faries concluded: "Gunner Udgarten was the great grandfather of the present Gunner. Isaac Hunter was the granddad of the present Hunters. The Linklaters are descendants of Big Jim, and all we Faries are from old Pat. Such was the days."[74]

Living among but separate from First Nations: "Halfbreeds" and the Timiskaming Reserve

In the late 1850s, several Métis families, such as the Polsons and the family of James King (whose sister Maria[75] moved west to the Northwestern Ontario Métis Community), relocated to the Timiskaming Reserve at the north end of Lake Temiscamingue. The reserve was created in 1853 near to the HBC post where William Polson served as postmaster between 1854 and 1857.

As was the experience of many Métis communities throughout west central North America, Métis families like the Polsons living near and in some cases on the newly created reserve were documented holding plots of land, and in a few cases participating in band elections.[76] This scenario was not unique to the Temiscamingue area, nor to Ontario. As the work of Cree scholar Rob Innes has shown, pre-reserve era bands of the northern plains were relatively multicultural communities, and Métis individuals and families often became part of "bands" without losing their distinct Métis identity and culture, one example being Cowessess First Nation located in present day southern Saskatchewan.[77]

[73] For more information on the Udgarden-Moar family, see Métis Nation of Ontario, "Udgarden-Moar Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2017).
[74] "William Faries - An Early 1[9]th Century Tale as Told to Us Boys by My Grandfather, Pat Faries."
and "Willie Moore's Account (from Grandmother Mary Turner via mother Emma Morrison)" are both included in John S. Long, "The 1859 New Year's Day Fight: Race, Place, Marriage, Gender, and Status in Western James Bay" *Papers of the 40th Algonquin Conference* (2012): 228-309.
[75] Maria King's children became the ancestors of the Crowe-King family.
[76] Members of the Polson, McBride and King families appear on Timiskaming Agency from the 1890s. See "Letter and List of Indian Holdings from Angus McBride, Indian Agent, to Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1899," LAC RG 10, Vol. 2200, File 39, 971-1, and "Polling at Temiscamingue Indian Reserve, 18 August 1896," LAC RG 10, Vol. 2785, File 156, 468-2, C-11278.
[77] Robert Alexander Innes, *Elder Brother and the Law of the People: Contemporary Kinship and Cowessess First Nation* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013). See also Innes, "Elder Brother, the Law of the People, and Contemporary Kinship Practices of Cowessess First Nation Members: Reconceptualizing Kinship in American Indian Studies Research,"

This also bears out in the case of the Métis living near Temiscamingue. Despite establishing relationships with the local Anishinaabe, the Métis families who relocated to the Timiskaming Reserve maintained a clear sense of their Métis identity. This is seen in an 1888 letter written by Angus McBride, the Métis husband of William Polson's daughter Flora, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs:

> "[There] are only very few Indians living on the Reserve, and all the halfbreeds are living on the Reserve at present myself included. We are all [sic] have the same blood as these bands. We were all brought up by our mothers amongst the Indians. I was then eleven years of age when I first parted my mother. Then could not talk one word of english nor french. I never had a pleasure of seeing my father. Many others are are[sic] living here, are in the same case."[78]

While McBride describes his upbringing and notes his close relationship with "these bands," he also clearly distinguishes between the "Indians" and "halfbreeds"—among whom he counts himself.

The distinction between the "halfbreeds" and the "Indians" was also clear to missionaries, settlers, and government officials, who understood the differences of the Métis families at Temiscamingue from the local Anishinaabe population. When Charles Cobb Farr, an early settler to the area, visited North Timiskaming in 1873, he wrote:

> "We arrived at the Head of the Lake (North Temiscaming) a few days before Christmas and stopped at Angus McBride's. His holding was known as the Point of Departure. McBride's father was once in charge of Fort Temiscaming under the North West Company. When the amalgamation was made with the Hudson's Bay Company he well-nigh broke his heart. At the time when I was there Angus McBride was the head centre of a large band of Indians and a few half-breeds; and what he said was law."[79]

In 1885, Catholic missionary Joseph Thomas Duhamel recorded his journey through Temiscamingue. He highlighted the religious practices of Métis in the area:

> "A 9 h. nous arrivons chez M. Angus McBride, propriétaire d'une jolie ferme qu'il cultive à son profit, et en même temps employé de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson. Plusieurs familles de métis ecossaise sont là réunies; il y a prière du soir en commun, à la belle étoile; tous comprennent l'anglais; M. Robert commence son ministère en récitant le chaplet."[80]
>
> [*Translation*] "At 9 o'clock we arrived at the home of Mr. Angus McBride, the owner of a lovely farm he works to his benefit, and employed by the Hudson's Bay Company at the same time. Many Scottish Half breed families are gathered there; there is

American Indian Culture and Research Journal 34, no 2. (2010): 27-46. Neal McLeod has addressed similar issues regarding Plains Cree identity, see Neal McLeod, "Plains Cree Identity: Borderlands, Ambiguous Genealogies and Narrative Irony," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 20, no. 2 (2000): 437-454.

[78] "Letter from Angus McBride, Indian Agent, to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 8, 1888." LAC RG 10, Vol 2200, File 39,973-1.

[79] "Success! The Life of Charles Cobbold Farr, a Colonist in Canada as Told by Himself," 113-114. LAC, MG29-C40, M-128.

[80] J. B. Proulx, *Au lac Abbitibi, visite pastorale de Mgr. J. Thomas Duhamel dans le haut de l'Ottawa* (Montréal: Librarie Saint-Joseph, 1885), 42. Accessed online March 5, 2024. Calixte Mourier's 1885 mission journal for Lake Timiskaming also often refers to these families as "métis." See Mourier documents including the 1885 mission journal for Lake Timiskaming in the Donat Martineau fonds at the Bibliothèque and Archives nationales de Québec (Rouyn-Noranda).

> communal evening prayer, under the stars; everyone understands English. Mr. Robert starts his ministry by reciting the rosary."

Another example of how the Métis living on the Timiskaming Reserve were seen and understood to be distinct from the Anishinaabe, specifically the Algonquins, is recounted in 1902, when Indian Agent Adam Burwash reported that "the majority of this band are Scotch half-breeds; the remainder belong to the Algonquin tribe."[81]

There is also evidence that the Algonquins who lived on the Reserve viewed the "halfbreeds" as a distinct group, and even took issue with their behaviour. In 1906 and 1909, Algonquin band members petitioned Department of Indian Affairs officials, describing the situation in detail. As Angus Wabie wrote in July 1906: "At the death of Salomon Masenikijik, the halfbreeds were made chiefs on this Indian Reserve. There are still here members of the Pitanimo [Petrimou] family, they got weaker and overrun and the half breeds are strong now here."[82]

Around this time, Wabie and others sent a petition to the Secretary of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, contesting the sale of Reserve land by half breeds. As Wabie explained: "The Indian lives in reserve and some these half breeds wants to sell our land and our Agent should look after that right he knows very well that the half breeds as [sic] nothing to do with our land because that belongs to the Indians."[83] In 1909, Wabie again petitioned the Department of Indian Affairs, in a letter signed by 11 other individuals:

> "We had meeting Last night about our Reserve They ask us to Sell it to white people and we don't want to sell it to them. All the North Temiskaming Indians want to Hold His Land but Those that voted to sell There are all Halfbreed White. Those Halfbreed white are suppose to Help the Indians But They re Trying to Sell the Land as Fast as They Can. They Sell Their Land without asking us and now we Don't Like to Sell Any More."[84]

This petition shows that the Métis living on the Timiskaming Reserve were acting and advancing their own interests separate from the First Nations they lived amongst. Further, the First Nations band members of Temiscamingue did not view the Halfbreeds as part of their collective political consciousness; and quite understandably so, considering the Métis families residing in Temiscamingue, including the Polsons and Kings, were originally from around the western coast of James Bay.[85] These differences came to a head over the issue of land: Timiskaming Agency records from the early 1900s include at least eight land sale agreements from members of the King and Polson families who, despite growing up on the reserve, appear to have had understandings of land tenure and property that were more aligned with the mixed-individual/communally-held river

[81] "Temiskaming Agency, Que. – Report from Adam Burwash, Indian Agent, July 24, 1902" in Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended June 30, 1902, p. 57.
[82] "Letter, Angus Wabie to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, July 4, 1906," LAC RG 10, Vol. 7622, File 15035-1, C-11582. In 1896, Tanis Stanger, the husband of Flora Polson.was elected as Chief.
[83] "Letter, Angus Wabie and others to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, June 13, 1906," LAC RG 10, Vol. 7622, File 15035-1, C-11582.
[84] "Members of the Temiscamingue Band to the Secretary of Indian Affairs, January 6, 1909," LAC RG 10, Vol. 3117, File 324, 222, C-111327.
[85] William Polson is described on his baptism record as being "from Hudson Bay," James King was born at Moose Factory in 1838.

lot systems used by Métis across west central North America, rather than with the purely communal land holding system employed by First Nations.[86]

"Halfbreed" Religious Services at Moose Factory

Oral histories from Métis families indicate "halfbreeds" and "Indians" maintained separate services at the Anglican Church at Moose Factory through 1921. In an account given by Ruby McLeod (nee Carey) describing her childhood, Ruby noted:

> "Everybody was religious around here. They used to go to church with all their children. And they had an Indian service, Cree service, in the afternoon. And all the white people, all the halfbreeds would go to church before dinner. And they had their own pews in church, each family. That's what they done. And the Indians didn't mix up with the morning service; it was only for the halfbreeds. And then they used to have an Indian service after dinner."[87]

Moose Factory Church. Credit: Hudson's Bay Company Post Photograph Collection, Archives of Ontario.

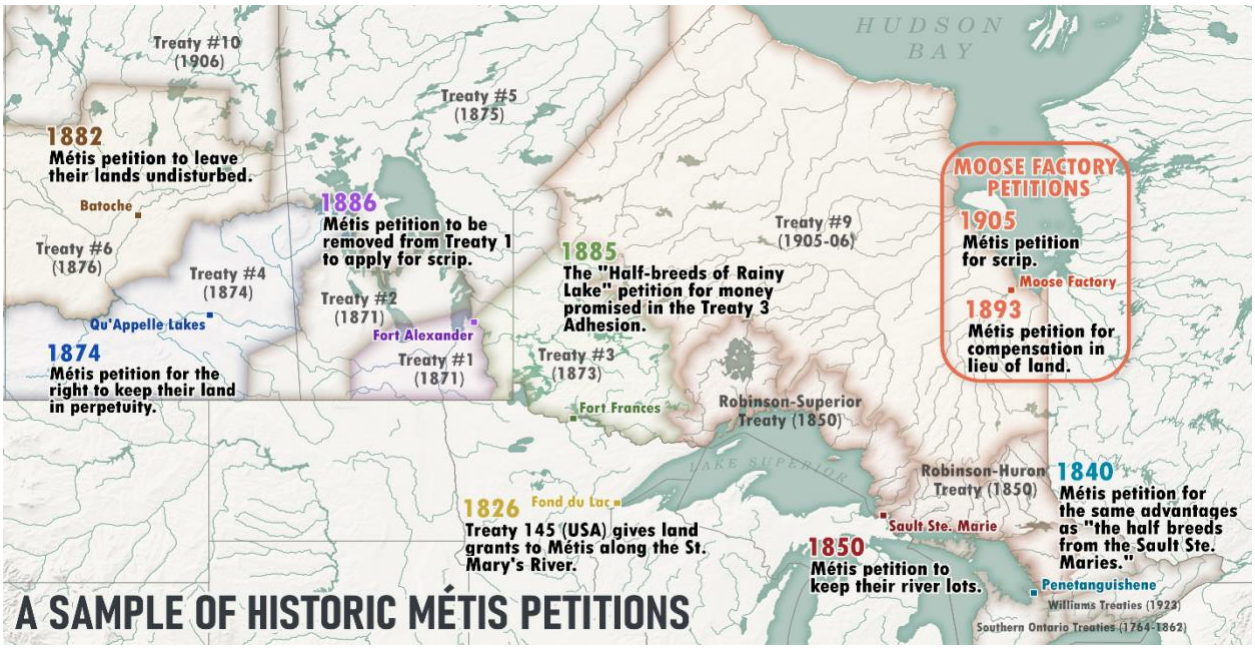
Ruby was born in Moose Factory in 1900 and became the daughter-in-law of 1905 petitioner William McLeod.

[86] See for example, "Memorandum of agreement between James King of North Temiskaming and Gustave Goltz gentleman of North Temiskaming, 3 January 1908," "Memorandum of agreement between James King Jun. an indian of North Temiskaming Reserve and Louis Blanchette of North Temiskaming, 3 February 1908," "Agreement between Thomas McBride of North Temiscamingue and John McLaren, 25 January 1908," and "Agreement between Angus McBride Jr and Pascal John Carrier, 25 January 1908," LAC RG 10, Vol. 3117, File 324,222, C-11327.

[87] Ruby attributes the end of this to actions of Anglican minister who was at the church beginning in 1921. Ruby McLeod, 1985. Quoted in John S. Long, "The Politics of Education in Moose Factory," *Papers of the 17th Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1986), 185.

Political Action: Petitions, Scrip, and Treaty 9 Negotiation

The AIMC demonstrates a pattern of using petitions to assert their identity and the rights associated with them, similar to how other Métis communities across west central North America have done.[88] On multiple occasions, the AIMC formally requested scrip like their relatives in western Métis communities received, which underscores the AIMC's awareness of circumstances of other Métis communities well beyond the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions.


HUDSON BAY
Treaty #10 (1906)
Treaty #5 (1875)
1882
Métis petition to leave their lands undisturbed.
Batoche
1886
Métis petition to be removed from Treaty 1 to apply for scrip.
Treaty #6 (1876)
Treaty #4 (1874)
Qu'Appelle Lakes
Treaty #2 (1871)
Fort Alexander
Treaty #1 (1871)
1874
Métis petition for the right to keep their land in perpetuity.
1885
The "Half-breeds of Rainy Lake" petition for money promised in the Treaty 3 Adhesion.
Treaty #3 (1873)
Treaty #9 (1905-06)
MOOSE FACTORY PETITIONS
1905
Métis petition for scrip.
Moose Factory
1893
Métis petition for compensation in lieu of land.
Fort Frances
Robinson-Superior Treaty (1850)
Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850)
1840
Métis petition for the same advantages as "the half breeds from the Sault Ste. Maries."
1826
Fond du Lac
Treaty 145 (USA) gives land grants to Métis along the St. Mary's River.
Sault Ste. Marie
1850
Métis petition to keep their river lots.
Penetanguishene
Williams Treaties (1923)
Southern Ontario Treaties (1764-1862)
A SAMPLE OF HISTORIC MÉTIS PETITIONS

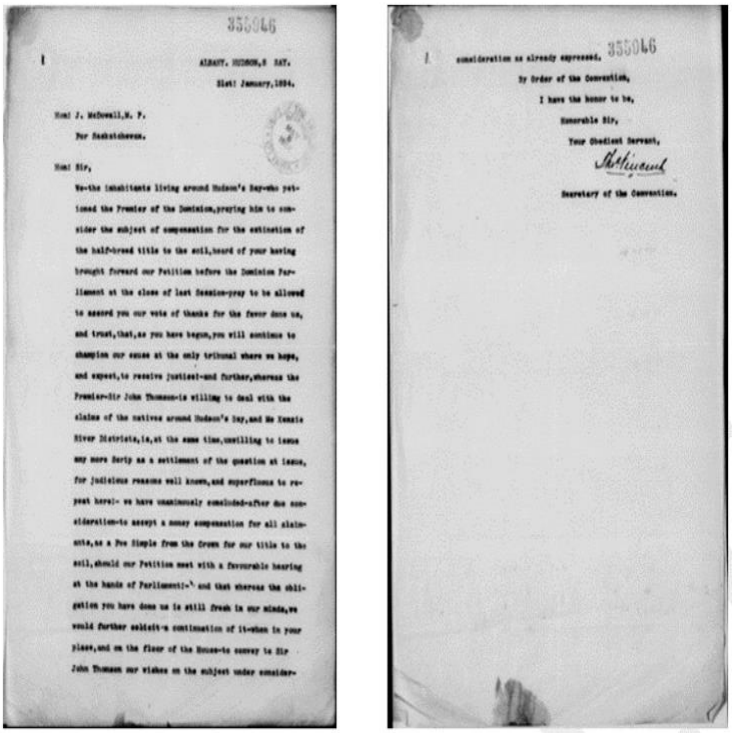
1893 Petition of Archdeacon Vincent and Others of Moose Factory

In 1893, Archdeacon Thomas Vincent "and others" of "Moose Factory, James Bay, Northwest Territories" petitioned the government "to consider favourably the claims of the Half-breeds of that Country for compensation in lieu of lands."[89] Born at the HBC's Osnaburgh House while his Métis father John was postmaster there, Thomas's family had spent three generations in the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions. Thomas moved with his family to Red River when John retired there in the 1840s, however Thomas (and his brother James) returned to Albany and Moose Factory when he started his career as a clergyman.

Archdeacon Thomas Vincent Jr. Credit: John Thomas Griffin fonds Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives, P7514-06.

[88] Lawrence J. Barkwell, "The History of Métis Petitions," Gabriel Dumont Institute, Accessed February 27, 2024: https://www.Métismuseum.ca/resource.php/14652.

[89] *House of Commons Journals, 7th Parliament, 3rd Session vol. 27* (April 1, 1893): 298. (Note: "James," describing an Archdeacon, is likely an error for Thomas.)



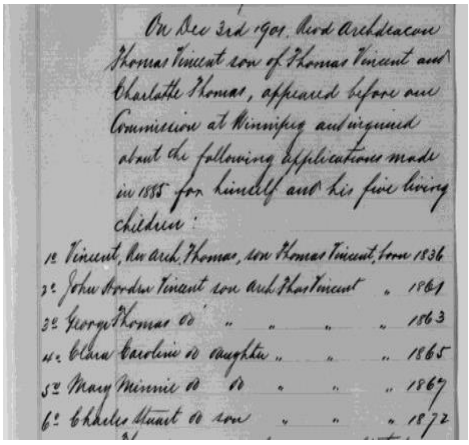
"Archdeacon Vincent, Albany, Petition for Compensation to Halfbreeds Around Hudson's Bay, 1894," Credit: Library and Archives Canada.

The 1893 petition is evidence of the AIMC working collectively to assert their rights based upon their relationship to the lands where they were born. It also shows that, like other Métis communities, they were willing to challenge the Crown if their asks were ignored.

Thomas Vincent's family was among those from Fort Albany who submitted claims for Métis scrip. Vincent initially applied for scrip for himself and his children in November 1885.[93] By 1896, the government had received eight other scrip applications from Fort Albany, something that government officials in the Ministry of the Interior discussed internally that year.[94] Other applicants from

The petition penned by Vincent was read in Ottawa before the House of Commons on April 1, 1893,[90] having been submitted by Saskatchewan MP D.H. MacDowall. Vincent wrote to MacDowall the following year, reiterating the petitioners' willingness "to accept a money compensation for all claimants," a conclusion that had been reached "unanimously" after "due consideration."[91]

MacDowall forwarded Vincent's 1894 letter to Prime Minister John Thompson, so that he would be "informed of what the people up there are doing." McDowall cautioned the Prime Minister that the petitioners had expressed to him that they "would be inclined to go against the Government" if their request was denied.[92]



Section from the scrip application of Thomas Vincent on behalf of himself and his family. It was denied due to the fact that they were "Ontario halfbreeds." Credit: Library and Archives Canada.

[90] *House of Commons Journals, 7th Parliament, 3rd Session vol. 27* (April 1, 1893): 298. (Note: "James," describing an Archdeacon, is likely an error for Thomas.)
[91] "Archdeacon Vincent, Albany, Petition for Compensation to Halfbreeds Around Hudson's Bay, 1894," LAC RG15-D-II-1, Vol. 705, File 355946, T-12435.
[92] Archdeacon Vincent, Albany, Claim No. 1757, "Petition for Compensation to Halfbreeds Around Hudson's Bay, 1894," LAC.
[93] "Vincent, Thomas (Archdeacon); claims scrip for himself & his family;" LAC, RG15, Vol 1370, Reel C-15008. Thomas Vincent also before the Commission at Winnipeg in December 1901 in support of the claim. The scrip file notes his child, Mary Minnie Vincent also made a separate claim, appearing in person in Winnipeg on July 26, 1894.
[94] "Memorandum, A. M. Burgess to R. W. Scott, July 22 1896," LAC, RG2, Vol. 713, C3647.

Albany included Robert Swanson and Mary Weigand.[95] Thomas Vincent would continue to correspond with government official about his family's application through 1902, after which the family's claim was disallowed on the grounds that they were "Ontario halfbreeds."[96]

Despite the AIMC's efforts to have their rights addressed through Métis scrip like their relatives to the west, they were deemed ineligible due to provincial and territorial boundaries excluding "Ontario halfbreeds" from having their interest in the lands they called home addressed.

In 1902, as government officials prepared to negotiate Treaty 9, Indian Commissioner J.A. McKenna directly acknowledged how this administrative technicality was problematic and unjust:

> "I note that the communication from the Indians describes the [Treaty No.9] territory as being in Ontario and Keewatin, while the maps submitted show the territory as being in Ontario and Quebec, the main portion being in the former Province. I mention this because in extinguishing the aboriginal title in the territory covered by Treaty Three there has been an apparent inconsistency. The territory is partly in Ontario and partly in Keewatin and a portion extends into Manitoba. The Halfbreed Claims Commissions of 1885 [illegible] and the Department of the Interior recognized the Halfbreeds of the ceded portion of Keewatin as North West Halfbreeds. **There was therefore no course open for me but to do likewise. The consequence is that Halfbreeds living on the Keewatin side of the English River are recognized as having territorial rights and get scrip, scrip which they may locate in Manitoba or any part of the North West Territories, while the Halfbreeds on the Ontario side who naturally comes and makes claim has to be told that he has no territorial rights**. **We must take care to avoid the perpetuation of this**. Therefore I would at once say that the suggested extinguishment of Indian title should stand until the settlement of Halfbreed claims is completed."[97]

While McKenna recognized that, like Métis on the Prairies, Métis in Ontario—particularly the AIMC—should have their territorial rights addressed through Métis scrip, the Crown never took steps to remedy this. This arbitrary decision continued the policy of excluding Métis in Ontario from having their rights addressed as the Crown sought to solidify its position through treaties. Regardless, the AIMC remained certain of their rights.

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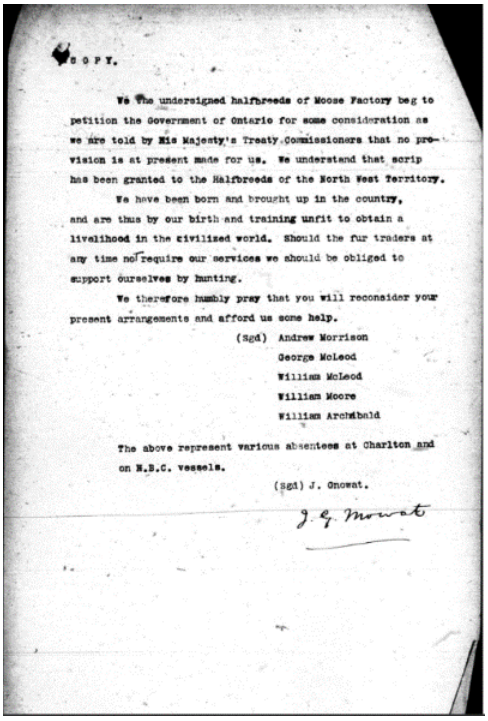
[95] "Halfbreed Scrip Claim of Mary Morrison Nee Wiggins," LAC, RG15-D-II-1, Vol. 696, Reel T-14442, File 342108; "Scrip Application, Robert Swanson," LAC RG15, D-II-1, Vol. 703, Reel T-12423, File 352394. For more information on the families of these petitioners, see the Métis Nation of Ontario's Verified Métis Family Line reports for the Swanson-Robinson and Weigand-Corcoran families.

[96] "Vincent, Thomas (Archdeacon); claims scrip for himself & his family;" LAC, RG15, Vol 1370, Reel C-15008.

[97] "Report from J. A. McKenna Regarding Half-Breed Claims," LAC RG 10, Vol. 3033, File 235,225 Pt. 1, C-11314.

1905 Moose Factory Petition

In 1905 and 1906, Commissioners representing the Canadian and Ontario governments toured the territory ultimately included in Treaty 9, stopping at Osnaburgh, Fort Hope, Martin Falls, Fort Albany, and Moose Factory in 1905, and at Abitibi, Matachewan, Mattagami, Flying Post, New Brunswick House, and Long Lake in 1906. Even though Métis acted as interpreters, guides, and witnesses during the Treaty 9 expeditions, they were ultimately excluded from the treaty and their rights were ignored.



COPY.

We the undersigned halfbreeds of Moose Factory beg to petition the Government of Ontario for some consideration as we are told by His Majesty's Treaty Commissioners that no provision is at present made for us. We understand that scrip has been granted to the Halfbreeds of the North West Territory.

We have been born and brought up in the country, and are thus by our birth and training unfit to obtain a livelihood in the civilized world. Should the fur traders at any time no require our services we should be obliged to support ourselves by hunting.

We therefore humbly pray that you will reconsider your present arrangements and afford us some help.

(Sgd) Andrew Morrison
George McLeod
William McLeod
William Moore
William Archibald

The above represent various absentees at Charlton and on H.B.C. vessels.

(Sgd) J. Mowat.

J. G. Mowat

1905 Petition for Scrip from the Half-Breeds of Moose Factory. Credit: Library and Archives Canada.

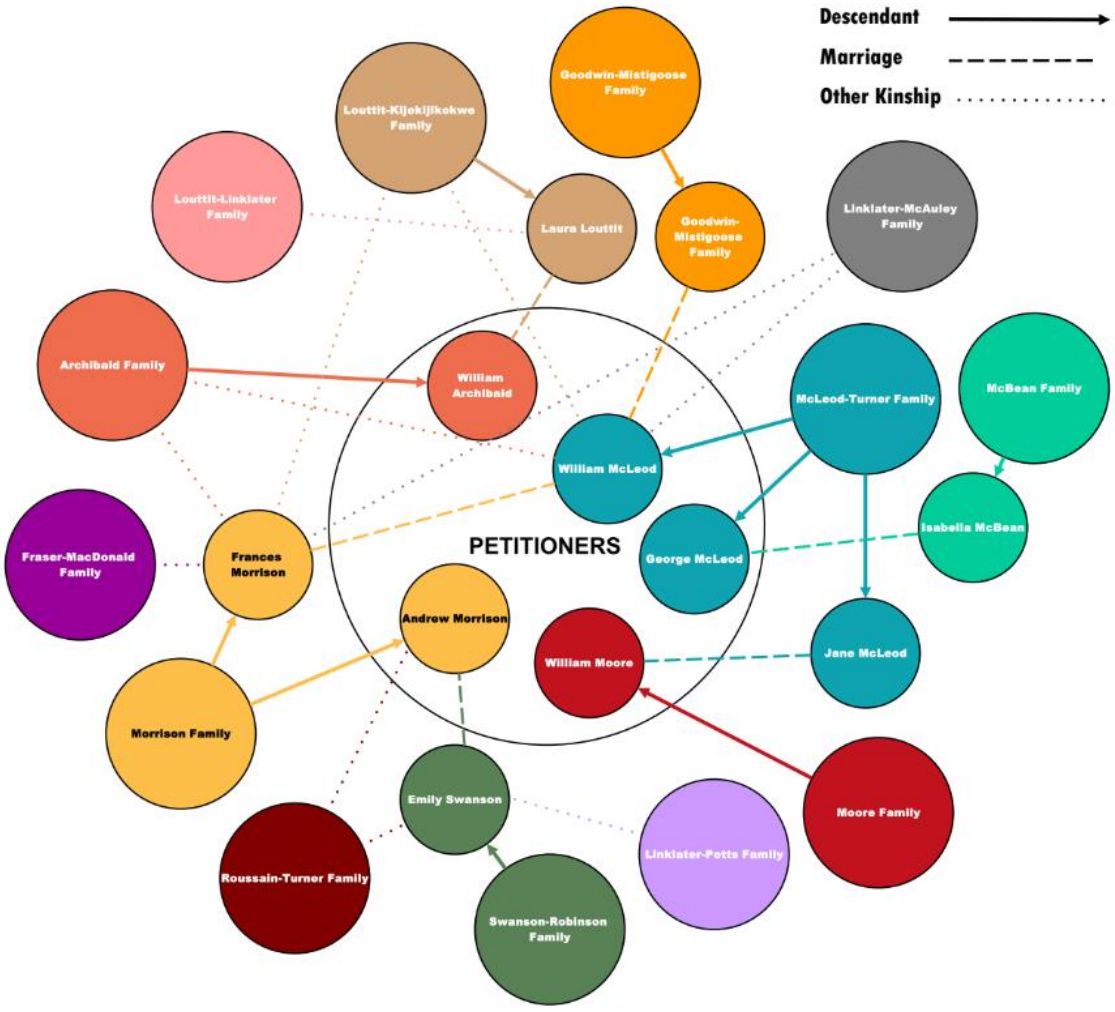
After speaking with the Canadian Treaty 9 Commissioners at Moose Factory in 1905, five Métis from Moose Factory formally petitioned for scrip. Describing themselves as "Halfbreeds," the petitioners represented a larger group, including "various absentees at Charlton and on H.B.C. vessels."[98]

The "half-breed" petitioners were deeply enmeshed in the kinship system of the AIMC. Looking at their connections to each other and to other families in the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions provides insights into the larger kinscapes of this Métis community. Brothers George and William McLeod were sons of Jane Turner and nephews of John Turner. Their sister Jane McLeod was married to petitioner William Moore.[99] Andrew Morrison was the husband of Emily Swanson of the Swanson-Robinson family, and William Archibald was the husband of Jane Louttit, an Albany-born daughter of HBC cooper Peter Henry Loutit of the Louttit-Kijekijikokwe family.[100] William McLeod and Andrew Morrison worked together as carpenters for the HBC. When William's first wife, Helen Mark (Goodwin-Mistigoose family), died in 1826, William married Andrew Morrison's daughter Frances.

[98] Indicated in a postscript from J. G. Mowat. In 1901, the population at Moose Factory was 575, of whom 108 were documented Métis.

[99] Circumstantial evidence suggests William Moore may also be related to Joseph Moore of the Moore-Beads family. Joseph and William are documented as born at Mattagami within a year of each other, both to a father named Thomas Moore with known connections to Flying Post. For more information about the Moore-Beads family, see "Moore-Beads Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2017).

[100] For more about the Louttit-Kijekijikokwe family, see "Louttit-Kijekijikokwe Verified Métis Family Line Report" (2021). William and Laura were recorded in Albany in the 1901 Census, meaning they likely moved to Moose Factory after this date.



This graph shows kinship connections between the 1905 Petitioners and their known connections to families of the Abitibi Inland Métis community.

These petitioners were the inheritors of the earlier 1893 petition: at least one of the petitioners, Andrew Morrison, was related through marriage to a Fort Albany scrip applicant, Mary Weigand, the widow of Andrew's brother Peter. The petition's explicit reference to the "Halfbreeds of the Northwest Territories" underscores the AIMC's awareness of circumstances of other Métis communities to their west. The petition was likely written based on the knowledge that their family members in western Métis communities had successfully applied for scrip.[101] For example, Charlotte Turner, the maternal aunt of William, George, and their sister Jane Moore (McLeod) had successfully applied for scrip in Manitoba in 1875 and, in 1886, their cousin Joseph Alexander Turner applied for scrip in St. Albert, Alberta.[102]

Importantly, the Ontario Government appears to have recognized the petitioners' claims, at least on paper. In 1906, the Government of Ontario decided to "allow these half-breeds…160 acres of

[101] See *Turner Family Vignette*.
[102] Scrip affidavit of Charlotte Harper, Claim no. 117; 1875. LAC, RG15, Vol. 1321, Reel C-14928. Scrip affidavit of Joseph Alexander Turner, Claim no. 324; 1886. LAC, RG15, vol 1369, Reel C-15007.

land reserving minerals." [103] However, there is no evidence that the offer was ever communicated to the Métis at Moose Factory, and within the coming years many Métis began to depart Moose Factory for other parts of both the Abitibi Inland region and west central North America.

After 1905: Migrations South and Maintaining Relations in the Face of Industry

The AIMC maintained a presence along western James Bay and the Abitibi Inland region into the early decades of the twentieth century. In 1933, Moose Factory petitioner William Moore was still working in the HBC's blacksmith shop at Moose Factory.[104] An Ottawa newspaper article published that year described "old William Moore pounding the ancient anvil" at the blacksmith shop "said to have been built in 1740." An article published in a Winnipeg newspaper in 1931 described William Moore and others' perspective on life at Moose Factory, including references to other known Métis in the area, such as 1905 petition signatory William McLeod.

The article described the interior of Moore's blacksmith shop: "Everything within that little interior were reminders of the colorful life of the fur trade – in land still in conscious sense remote from the civilization that is eating into the wilderness so rapidly from the south." The same article noted that "the number of living Canadians who have been to Moose Factory is so few they might constitute themselves an exclusive fraternity."[105] This would change the following year (1932), when railway service to Moosonee began.

MAGAZINE SECTION

The Winnipeg Evening Tribune

MAGAZINE SECTION

WINNIPEG, SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1931

Load Enough for Charley

By S.H. HOWARD

This 1931 article from the Winnipeg Evening Press describes petitioner William Moore's perspective on life at Moose Factory. The image on the right is titled "Moose Factory Types."

When William Moore died in 1934, his death was reported across the Métis world, with an article published in the *Sault Ste. Marie Star* announcing the death of the "veteran blacksmith for the Hudson's Bay Company at Moose Factory." The blacksmith shop was commonly believed to be "the oldest building in Ontario."[106]

While Moose Factory and Moosonee remained major Métis settlements into the 1930s, Métis families continued moving south due to the decline of the fur trade and the growth of new industries and employment opportunities in the south. Families of the AIMC maintained kinship during this period. In 1903, Emma McLeod, daughter of Jane Polson and Alexander Joseph McLeod (Polson and McLeod-Turner families), born in Abitibi in 1887, married HBC agent William Miller (Neveu family) while they were living at Biscotasing. In 1921, they were living along the CPR track between Stralak and Biscotasing, as described in the Census of Canada for

[103] Letter, A.J. Matheson to Frank Pedley, 2 April 1906. LAC RG10, Vol. 3093, File 289,300. See John S. Long, *Treaty No. 9: The Half-Breed Question, 1902-1910* (Cobalt: Highway Bookshop, 1978).
[104] "Historic Trading Post Hudson Bay Company, Moose Factory, Visited," October 14, 1933, The Sun Times (Owen Sound, Ontario): 7. See also George R. Ray, "William Moore," The Beaver 4, no. 11 (August 1924), p. 426.
[105] "Load Enough for Charley, by S. H. Howard," *The Winnipeg Evening Tribute*, January 24, 1931.
[106] "Which Is Oldest Building in the Province," *The Sault Star,* February 16, 1934. Contenders in SSM included the "Stone House" built by trader C. O. Ermatinger and the old trader's headquarters at the corner of Pilgrim and Queen Streets.

that year.[107] Emma's sister Jessie Josephine, who was born in Biscotasing in 1886, witnessed the marriage of Sophia Saunders (Saunders-Leblanc family) in Biscotasing in 1902.[108]

The AIMC Within Contemporary Métis Governance

While members of the AIMC began a concentrated movement southward in the early 1900s, the history, memory, culture, and Métis identity of the AIMC endured, both for community members and within the Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the AIMC, like Métis communities across west central North America, began to re-organize and worked alongside non-status Indians through pan-Indigenous advocacy bodies such as the Ontario Métis and Aboriginal Association ("**OMAA**") and the Native Council of Canada. Also, like other Métis communities operating within these pan-Indigenous organizations, the AIMC found the interests and voices of Métis were often drowned out within these organizations. For this reason, in the 1980s, the portion of the contemporary AIMC located within Timmins created a Métis-specific OMAA local separate from the non-status Indian local.

Given the AIMC's support for Métis-specific advocacy, it was no surprise that when Métis communities within Ontario came together to form the MNO as a Métis-specific government in 1993, the contemporary AIMC within Timmins overwhelmingly voted to join the MNO, becoming the MNO's first chartered Community Council.

After formally joining the MNO in 1993, members of the AIMC also participated and put themselves on the line in furtherance of the Hunt for Justice. An AIMC member was charged for harvesting a moose without a licence—the same charge made against Steve and Roddy Powley of the Sault Ste. Marie Métis Community. The MNO supported the defence of this community member, as the *Powley* case was simultaneously moving through the Ontario courts as a test case on Métis harvesting rights; however, the charges were ultimately dropped. Regardless, the participation of the AIMC in the Hunt for Justice were in collaboration and consultation with Métis leadership and harvesters from Ontario-westward, and is an example of the AIMC's continued assertion of their identity and rights within the broader contemporary governance of the Métis Nation.

As outlined above, the AIMC has been represented by the MNO since 1993—this fact has never been a secret. Putting aside the MNO for a moment, the history of the AIMC more generally was no secret in the 1990s, as it was explicitly referenced in the "Métis Perspectives" chapter of the final report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples ("**RCAP**"), which stated that "it is indisputable that the distinct Métis communities of Ontario," including at those "Moose Factory (on James Bay)…have long and unique histories, as well as indisputable claims to recognition of

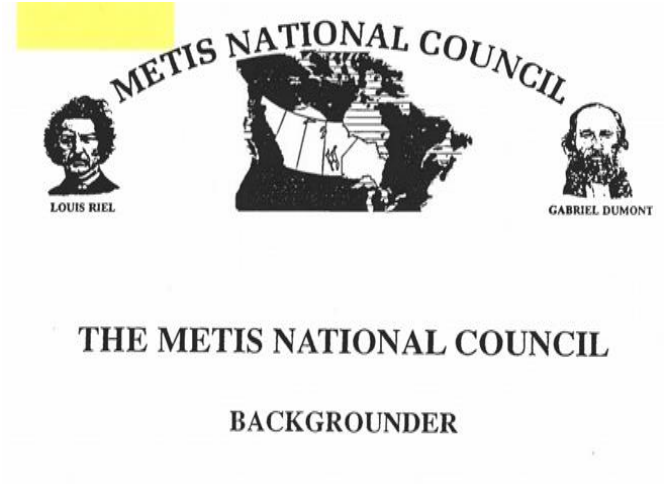
[107] 1921 Census of Canada for District of Algoma East, p. 4. LAC, RG31, Reel T-25800.

[108] Economizing measures were instituted at HBC posts shortly after 1900, with the HBC dismissing at least 12 servants from its workforce at Moose Factory. In June of that year, missionary observers encountered several former HBC servants travelling upriver from Moose Fort following their dismissal: "43 men, women and children of HBC's servants, who had been given a passage to the [railway] line. They will find many hardships before they settle. Moose Fort is half emptied of the Company's servants." New life was breathed into the northern fur trade in 1902, when French trading company Revillon Freres opened a post at Moosonee in 1902. Former HBC workers including George Linklater, Gustave Augustin Udgarden and his son James, John Hunter and his son Joseph, all worked at the Réveillon Freres post at Moosonee. See John S. Long "Treaty No. 9 and Fur Trade Company Families," 142-143.

their Aboriginal origins and entitlements."[109] Building on this recognition, RCAP's concluding sections on Ontario Métis communities explicitly discusses the 1905 Moose Factory Petition:

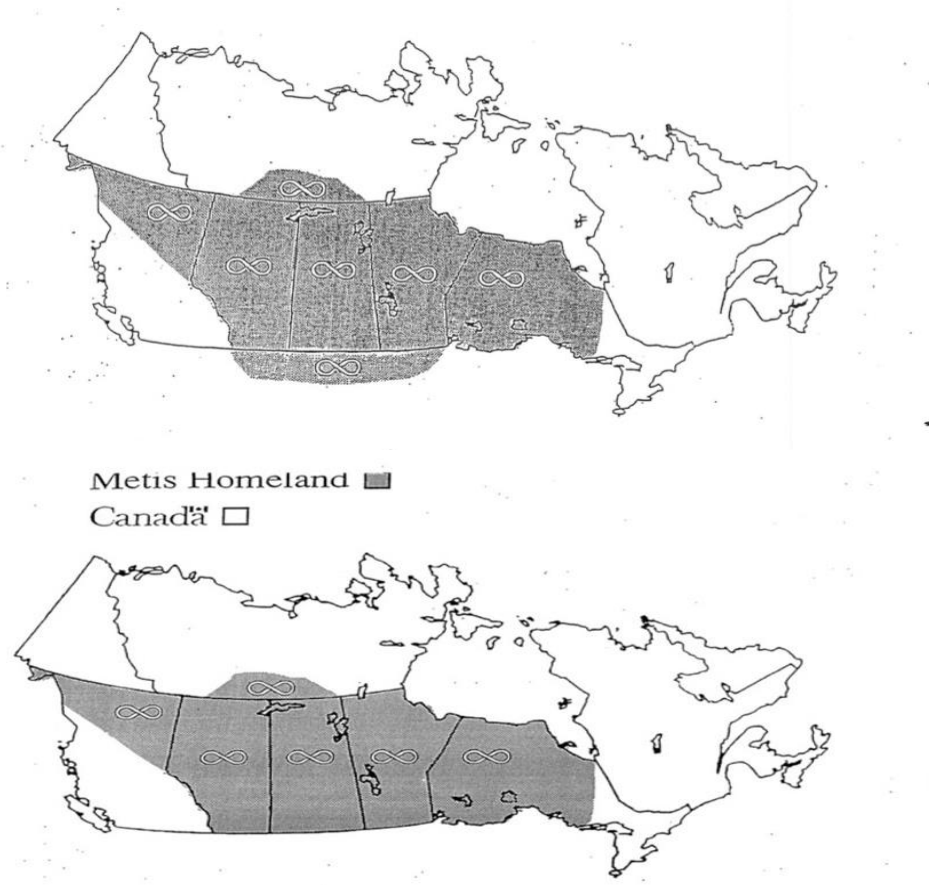
> "In 1905, when Treaty 9 was being negotiated, the government's treaty commissioners encountered a major Métis presence in the Moose Factory area. By that time there was no longer any question of bargaining with the Métis as a group. **Those who had been assimilated to the Indian way of life were generally given treaty status, but those who asserted Métis identity were offered scrip under the Dominion Lands Act**."[110]

Beyond RCAP, all available Métis Nation Homeland maps produced by the MNC prior to 2018 have encompassed the AIMC's costal settlements at Moose Factory and Fort Albany. Further, the AIMC's traditional harvesting territory, administratively classified as "James Bay" and "Abitibi/Temiscamingue," have appeared on every Métis traditional harvesting territories map produced by the MNO to date. This includes the very public 2004 MNO-MNR Harvesting Agreement Map which accompanied the 2004 "Four Points Agreement" which was celebrated by Métis leaders from across the Métis Nation.[111] More recently, these regions were part of the MNO's Métis Harvesting Map located at Schedule C of the MNO-Ontario 2018 Framework Agreement on Métis Harvesting.

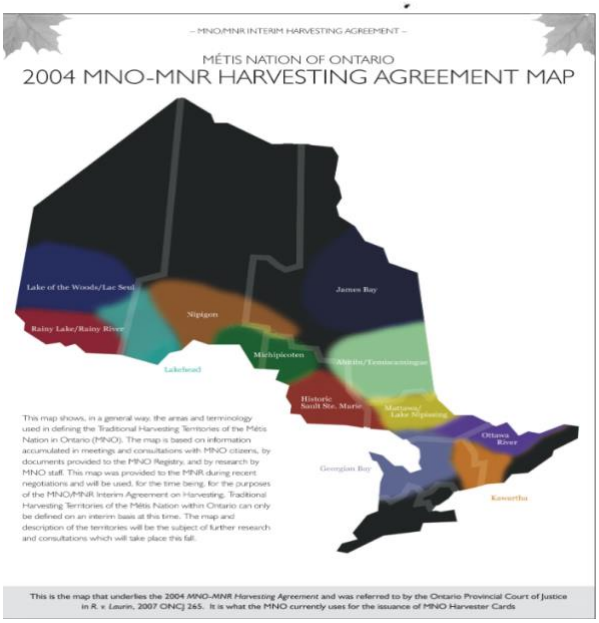


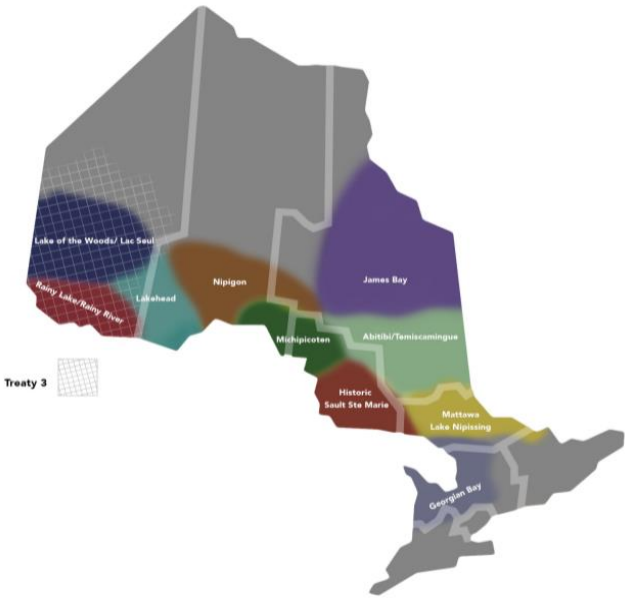
MNC Charlottetown Accord Backgrounder that includes description of the Métis Nation Homeland as extending into "Northwestern Ontario" with a visual map extending to the Upper Great Lakes.

[109] *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Vol. 4: Perspectives and Realities* (Canada, October 1996) at page 241.
[110] *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Vol. 4: Perspectives and Realities* (Canada, October 1996) at page 243.
[111] See 00:37:16 of "Hunt for Justice: The Powley Story," Métis Nation of Ontario (2023).



A 2004 presentation prepared and presented by MNC's legal counsel in November 2004 entitled "Overview of the Métis Nation's Rights-Based Agenda" includes two visuals of the Métis Homeland with the eastern boundary encompassing Moose Factory in the north and the north shore of Lake Huron in the south.


– MNO/MNR INTERIM HARVESTING AGREEMENT –
MÉTIS NATION OF ONTARIO
2004 MNO-MNR HARVESTING AGREEMENT MAP
Lake of the Woods/Lac Seul
Rainy Lake/Rainy River
Nipigon
James Bay
Michipicoten
Lakehead
Abitibi/Temiscamingue
Historic Sault Ste. Marie
Mattawa/ Lake Nipissing
Ottawa River
Georgian Bay
Kawartha
This map shows, in a general way, the areas and terminology used in defining the Traditional Harvesting Territories of the Métis Nation in Ontario (MNO). The map is based on information accumulated in meetings and consultations with MNO citizens, by documents provided to the MNO Registry, and by research by MNO staff. This map was provided to the MNR during recent negotiations and will be used, for the time being, for the purposes of the MNO/MNR Interim Agreement on Harvesting. Traditional Harvesting Territories of the Métis Nation within Ontario can only be defined on an interim basis at this time. The map and description of the territories will be the subject of further research and consultations which will take place this fall.
This is the map that underlies the 2004 MNO-MNR Harvesting Agreement and was referred to by the Ontario Provincial Court of Justice in R. v. Laurin, 2007 ONCJ 265. It is what the MNO currently uses for the issuance of MNO Harvester Cards



This widely circulated 2004 MNO-MNR Harvesting Agreement Map accompanied the "Four Points Agreement."

The MNO's 2018 Métis Harvesting Map from the Framework Agreement on Métis Harvesting.

In 2017, along with the other Métis communities represented by the MNO, after over a decade of collaborative work with Ontario, the AIMC was formally recognized by the Government of Ontario as a rights-bearing Métis community in accordance with the criteria outlined by the Supreme Court of Canada in *R. v. Powley*. The AIMC and its geography was identified as "The inter-connected historic Métis populations at the inland posts between New Post and Timiskaming, including: Frederick House, Abitibi House, Kenogamissi, Flying Post, Mattagami and Matachewan as well as the historic Métis population at the Moose Factory Post and environs, several families of which were inter-related to members of the historic Abitibi Inland Community and migrated south to become a part of this community."[112]

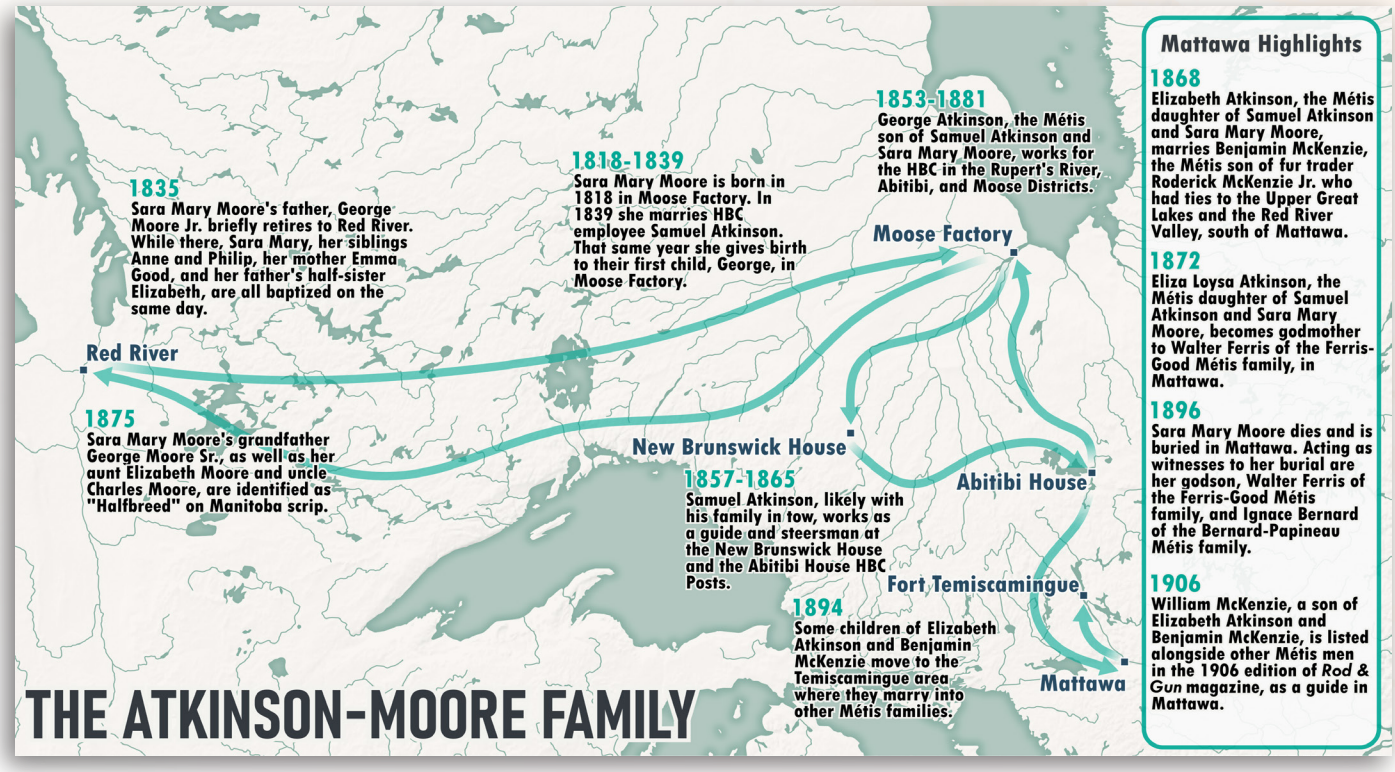
Members of the AIMC have been politically involved in the contemporary governance of the Métis Nation within Ontario and at the national level for well over three decades. For example, many AIMC members have been—or currently are—members of the Provisional Council of the Métis Nation of Ontario ("**PCMNO**"). Through this capacity, AIMC members have been involved in contemporary Métis governance at the national level through the MNC, including the MNC General Assembly.

This contemporary participation in Métis governance is rooted the AIMC's emergence, history, and ongoing connection to Abitibi Inland and western James Bay regions, as well as their connections to other Métis communities from Ontario-westward, which have driven this community to continue to advocate and proudly express their Métis identity and culture.

[112] Indigenous Affairs, "Identification of Historic Métis Communities in Ontario," Government of Ontario, August 22, 2017, https://news.ontario.ca/en/backgrounder/45936/identification-of-historic-metis-communities-in-ontario.

APPENDIX 1: Abitibi Inland Métis Family Vignettes

The Atkinson-Moore Family


THE ATKINSON-MOORE FAMILY
1835
Sara Mary Moore's father, George Moore Jr. briefly retires to Red River. While there, Sara Mary, her siblings Anne and Philip, her mother Emma Good, and her father's half-sister Elizabeth, are all baptized on the same day.
1818-1839
Sara Mary Moore is born in 1818 in Moose Factory. In 1839 she marries HBC employee Samuel Atkinson. That same year she gives birth to their first child, George, in Moose Factory.
1853-1881
George Atkinson, the Métis son of Samuel Atkinson and Sara Mary Moore, works for the HBC in the Rupert's River, Abitibi, and Moose Districts.
Moose Factory
Red River
1875
Sara Mary Moore's grandfather George Moore Sr., as well as her aunt Elizabeth Moore and uncle Charles Moore, are identified as "Halfbreed" on Manitoba scrip.
New Brunswick House
1857-1865
Samuel Atkinson, likely with his family in tow, works as a guide and steersman at the New Brunswick House and the Abitibi House HBC Posts.
Abitibi House
Fort Temiscamingue
1894
Some children of Elizabeth Atkinson and Benjamin McKenzie move to the Temiscamingue area where they marry into other Métis families.
Mattawa
Mattawa Highlights
1868
Elizabeth Atkinson, the Métis daughter of Samuel Atkinson and Sara Mary Moore, marries Benjamin McKenzie, the Métis son of fur trader Roderick McKenzie Jr. who had ties to the Upper Great Lakes and the Red River Valley, south of Mattawa.
1872
Eliza Loysa Atkinson, the Métis daughter of Samuel Atkinson and Sara Mary Moore, becomes godmother to Walter Ferris of the Ferris-Good Métis family, in Mattawa.
1896
Sara Mary Moore dies and is buried in Mattawa. Acting as witnesses to her burial are her godson, Walter Ferris of the Ferris-Good Métis family, and Ignace Bernard of the Bernard-Papineau Métis family.
1906
William McKenzie, a son of Elizabeth Atkinson and Benjamin McKenzie, is listed alongside other Métis men in the 1906 edition of *Rod & Gun* magazine, as a guide in Mattawa.

Sara Mary Moore was born in Moose Factory in 1818. As a Métis woman and the daughter of a steersman with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), she was raised among fur traders, guides, and woodsmen. Her family also had ties to Red River. In 1835, while her Métis father, George Moore Jr. was briefly retired to Red River, the family—including Sara Mary, her siblings Anne and Philip, and her mother Emma Good—were all baptized. Her father's half-sister, Elizabeth Moore, daughter of Mary Truthwaite, was also baptized on the same day, showing that the family had collectively traveled to Red River for these important life events.

Sara Mary returned to Moose Factory with her family where she met Samuel Atkinson. The two were most likely married à la façon du pays, which meant marriage in the custom of the country, which was common for marriages born out of the fur trade in locations where there was only sporadic access to priests to officiate marriages . In February 1839 their eldest son was born in Moose Factory, and several months later their marriage was formally officiated by the Chief Factor of the HBC.

Like Sara Mary's father, Samuel Atkinson worked for the HBC. He was a steersman stationed at New Brunswick House, before being transferred to Abitibi. While in Abitibi he was promoted to the position of guide, before finally retiring in 1865. Sometime after his retirement, like other Métis families during this period the family—including Samuel, Sara Mary, and their four children—moved to the Mattawa area.

Born in Moose Factory in February 1839, their son George followed in his father's footsteps to join the HBC when he was around 15 years old. In his first seven years with the company, George worked as an apprentice labourer in Rupert's River, and was then promoted to middleman. A middleman was a voyager who was positioned in the middle of the canoes that navigated the waterways to trade furs and goods

among rural and native communities. He worked in Abitibi and Moose Factory before retiring in 1881. During his time at the HBC, George married Margaret Chilton. Margaret likely accompanied George during his travels—and worked in and around the posts where he was employed —as all four of their children were born and baptized in locations around James Bay.

Sara Mary and Samuel's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1846 in Rupert's Land. In 1868, she married a Métis man named Benjamin McKenzie and they had ten children together, many of whom married into other known Métis families: Joseph Frederick married Rosalie King, granddaughter of Sophie Marie Garton; and George and William McKenzie married the great-granddaughters of William Polson and Flora L'Eveque. Elizabeth and Benjamin themselves witnessed the marriages of, and became godparents to, Métis men, women, and children in Mattawa and Timiskaming. Their son William kept the family's voyageur traditions alive: he became a guide and was named in the 1906 edition of Rod and Gun magazine alongside a group of other Métis guides in Mattawa.

Samuel Atkinson died before 1868. Sara Mary Moore lived for many years after his death in Mattawa, surrounded by her family and community. When she died in 1896 her burial was witnessed by Métis Walter Ferris and Ignace Bernard.

Métis families like the Atkinson-Moores were highly mobile, as HBC employees moved wherever the company sent them. When no longer under the company's influence, the communities built through the trade routes still held strong. Atkinson-Moore descendants forged strong links with the other Métis community members, making them an integral part of the Abitibi Inland Métis Community and the Mattawa Métis' history.

I.

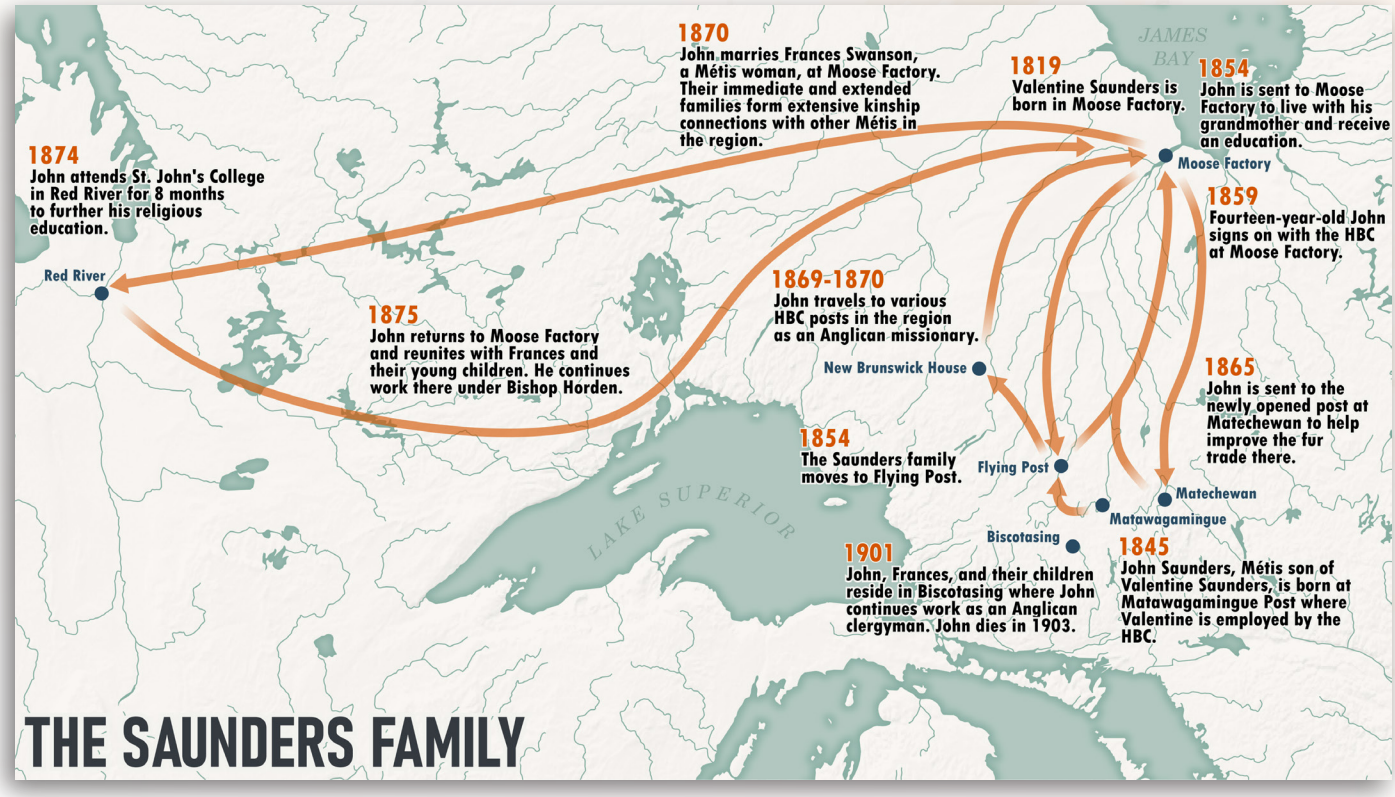
II.

III.

VI.

I. Fort Mattawa, 1876. Credit: George McLaughlin/Library and Archives Canada/PA-028725
II. Hudson's Bay Co.'s Post, Abitibi. Credit: Canada. Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development/Library and Archives Canada/PA-059518.
III. Poling the Abitibi River. Credit: Canada. Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development/Library and Archives Canada/PA-059513.
IV. View of the port and fort in Moose Factory during the summer, ca. 1869. Ontario Archives, Captain Traill Smith Photograph collection, F 2179-1-0-0-16.

The Saunders-Leblanc Family


1870
John marries Frances Swanson, a Métis woman, at Moose Factory. Their immediate and extended families form extensive kinship connections with other Métis in the region.
1819
Valentine Saunders is born in Moose Factory.
1854
John is sent to Moose Factory to live with his grandmother and receive an education.
1874
John attends St. John's College in Red River for 8 months to further his religious education.
Moose Factory
1859
Fourteen-year-old John signs on with the HBC at Moose Factory.
Red River
1869-1870
John travels to various HBC posts in the region as an Anglican missionary.
1875
John returns to Moose Factory and reunites with Frances and their young children. He continues work there under Bishop Horden.
New Brunswick House
1865
John is sent to the newly opened post at Matechewan to help improve the fur trade there.
1854
The Saunders family moves to Flying Post.
Flying Post
Matechewan
Matawagamingue
Biscotasing
1901
John, Frances, and their children reside in Biscotasing where John continues work as an Anglican clergyman. John dies in 1903.
1845
John Saunders, Métis son of Valentine Saunders, is born at Matawagamingue Post where Valentine is employed by the HBC.
JAMES BAY
LAKE SUPERIOR
THE SAUNDERS FAMILY

John Saunders grew up in a lively and mobile Métis household. His father Valentine was born in Moose Factory and joined the Hudson's Bay Company as an apprentice at 15 years old. John and his 17 siblings spent their early years gaining a deep understanding of the Métis world of the fur trade. John was born at Matawagamingue in 1845, an inland post located at Mattagami Lake established to improve the fur trade north of Lake Superior. At Metawagamingue, his father worked as a Middleman for the HBC.

Although it served as the Kenogamissi River District's administrative headquarters between 1822 and 1892, Matawagamingue was a relatively small post with no more than five or six HBC servants and a couple of families at any given time. The two other posts under the Kenogamissi River District were Flying Post and Matachewan. Servants at these posts were required to make annual trips to Moose Factory to receive European provisions. Like other posts, Matawagamingue relied on the hunting, fishing, and gathering skills of Métis families to survive.

The Saunders family's movements followed Valentine's work with the HBC. In 1854, the family made the trip about 50 miles north-west to Flying Post, where Valentine worked for the next three decades. The postmaster frequently wrote about Valentine, applauding his generosity, and once commending his ability to snare and then carry 30 frozen hares from his camp to the post. Young John did not remain at Flying Post with his family for long, though. At nine years old, John made the long and challenging canoe journey 500 miles north to Moose Factory, to live with his grandmother. He remained there for two years, and attended the Anglican school run by Reverend John Horden. His attendance at school was often interrupted by the realities of life at the post, when John helped his grandmother hunt and harvest firewood.

At 14 years old, John joined the family business by becoming an apprentice cooper with the HBC at Moose Factory. Over the next seven years, John proved himself a willing and hard worker while also attending the adult school in the evenings to further his education. No stranger to moving around, John was later sent to the newly opened post at Matechewan to help improve the fur trade there. He spent the winter travelling on snowshoes to fur traders' camps in the area to buy furs. But by 1870, John was yearning for change. He left the HBC and joined the Church Mission Society under his old teacher Reverend Horden.

In his new line of work with the Anglican Church, John's Métis heritage meant that he bridged a gap between settler and Indigenous communities. Able to converse in Ojibway, English and Cree, John was sent to Flying Post, where his family still lived, to act as a missionary. Reunited with his family for a short time, John not only spread his faith, but also taught his siblings how to read. John returned to Moose Factory in 1870 where he married Frances Swanson, a member of another prominent Métis fur trading family. In 1872, John's mentor Reverend Horden left for London to be consecrated the first bishop of Moosonee. He left John in charge of conducting religious services at Moose Factory.

Like many Métis, John Saunders travelled throughout the Métis Homeland. In 1874, he left Moose Factory to attend St. Johns College in Red River, Manitoba in order to further his religious education. He remained in Red River for eight months before returning to his wife and young children in Moose Factory. The journey home was not straightforward. The first stage involved a four horse-drawn carriage, followed by a stint on the railway and then a steamer ship on Lake Superior, which took him through Sault Ste. Marie. When John was on the steamer, near Michipicoten, the boat crashed into and sank another steamer, which took the lives of 11 people. Although this particular trip was more harrowing than most, John was certainly no stranger to long journeys.

In 1876, John was ordained as a deacon and left Moose Factory to return to his roots in Matawagamingue, where he was appointed to the newly formed missionary station. He worked for a decade to establish an Anglican presence in the area.

By the late 1800s, the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway created a small economic boom in northern Ontario around communities such as Sudbury and Timmins. Many Métis families who had worked for the Hudson's Bay Company in the Abitibi/Timiskaming region relocated south. John and his family eventually settled in the small lumbering town of Biscotasing, where John continued his work, now as an ordained priest. While here, John translated multiple religious texts into Ojibway to make them more accessible to the Indigenous community.

I.

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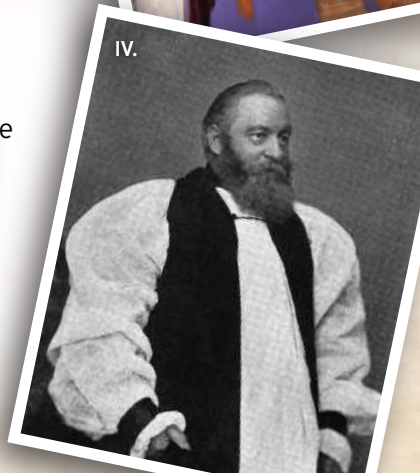
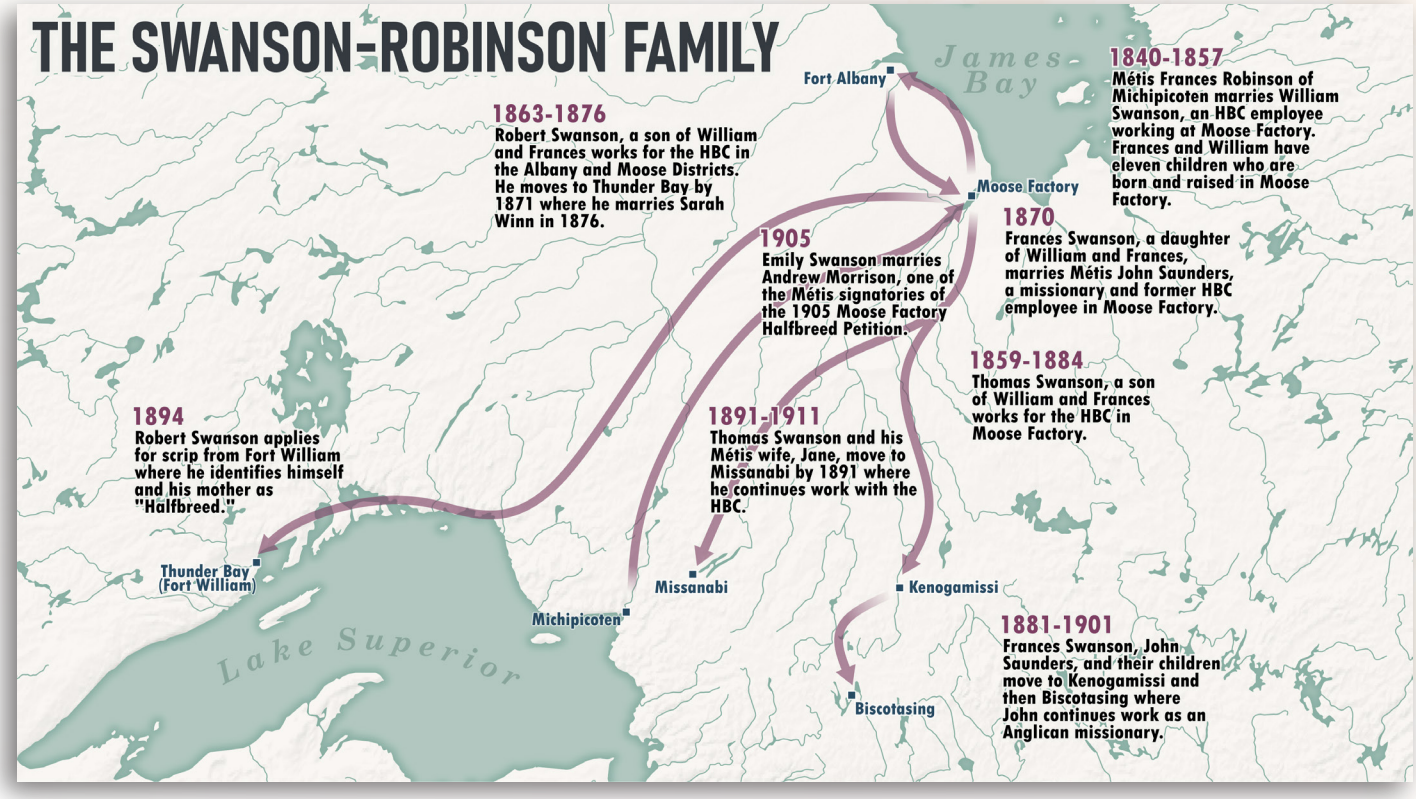
III.


IV.

I. Rev John and Mrs. Sanders, 1890s Credit: Vince Crichton, Chapleau Public Library
II. Reverend John Sanders, 1889. Possibly taken at Biscotasing or Missinabie. Credit: Vince Crichton, Chapleau Public Library
III. John Sanders by Dayna Rainville Credit: provided by Lori Rainville. Timmins Today, Village media
IV. Reverend John Horden. Credit: Warlordjohncarter, Wikimedia Commons

The Swanson-Robinson Family


THE SWANSON-ROBINSON FAMILY
James Bay
Fort Albany
Moose Factory
1840-1857
Métis Frances Robinson of Michipicoten marries William Swanson, an HBC employee working at Moose Factory. Frances and William have eleven children who are born and raised in Moose Factory.
1863-1876
Robert Swanson, a son of William and Frances works for the HBC in the Albany and Moose Districts. He moves to Thunder Bay by 1871 where he marries Sarah Winn in 1876.
1870
Frances Swanson, a daughter of William and Frances, marries Métis John Saunders, a missionary and former HBC employee in Moose Factory.
1905
Emily Swanson marries Andrew Morrison, one of the Métis signatories of the 1905 Moose Factory Halfbreed Petition.
1859-1884
Thomas Swanson, a son of William and Frances works for the HBC in Moose Factory.
1894
Robert Swanson applies for scrip from Fort William where he identifies himself and his mother as "Halfbreed."
1891-1911
Thomas Swanson and his Métis wife, Jane, move to Missanabi by 1891 where he continues work with the HBC.
Thunder Bay (Fort William)
Missanabi
Kenogamissi
Michipicoten
Lake Superior
1881-1901
Frances Swanson, John Saunders, and their children move to Kenogamissi and then Biscotasing where John continues work as an Anglican missionary.
Biscotasing

Frances Robinson already had some experience in the fur trade world when she married William Swanson in Moose Factory in 1840, having moved there from Michipicoten some time before. William had worked in the Moose District since he came to the HBC from England in 1812. Frances was the ideal partner for a long-time HBC servant—as an Métis woman, she helped William bridge the gap between European and Indigenous cultures, a necessity for fur traders as this time

Growing up in Moose Factory, the Métis population—including many of Frances and William's 11 children—filled key roles in the regions fur trade economy. Métis men were directly involved with the HBC as clerks, labourers, guides, or interpreters, while Métis and Cree women were often unofficially employed in provisioning and supporting life around the fort. Their knowledge of the land was essential for not only the fort's survival, but also the continuation of the fur trade in the region.

The Swanson-Robinson family travelled between and worked at various posts across Northern Ontario. Six of William's sons followed in his footsteps and joined the HBC across west central North America (i.e., the Métis Homeland). George worked in the Rupert's River and Eastmain districts. Albert also worked in Eastmain, as a cooper, before moving back to Moose Factory to take up carpentry. Richard was also at Moose, working as a blacksmith; while Robert was a blacksmith in the Albany River District. In 1864 and 1895, Albert and Thomas worked alongside Métis like James King and William McLeod at Moose Factory, building houses. No doubt, they and their brothers worked with other Métis wherever they were posted. By 1891, Thomas moved to Missanabie, a new HBC post built along the recently completed Canadian Pacific rail line.

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COPY.

We the undersigned halfbreeds of Moose Factory beg to petition the Government of Ontario for some consideration as we are told by His Majesty's Treaty Commissioners that no provision is at present made for us. We understand that scrip has been granted to the Halfbreeds of the North West Territory.

We have been born and brought up in the country, and are thus by our birth and training unfit to obtain a livelihood in the civilized world. Should the fur traders at any time not require our services we should be obliged to support ourselves by hunting.

We therefore humbly pray that you will reconsider your present arrangements and afford us some help.

(Sgd) Andrew Morrison
George McLeod
William McLeod
William Moore
William Archibald

The above represent various absentees at Charlton and on H.B.C. vessels.

(Sgd) J. Stewart.

William and Frances's daughters did not move around like their brothers; instead, they played an important role in maintaining the family's connections with other Métis in the Abitibi community. Frances Caroline married John Saunders, a Métis man, in Moose Factory and eventually moved to Mattagami and Biscotasing, where John worked as a clergyman. Her sister Jane married fellow Métis William Ferris, an HBC carpenter and boat builder, and raised their family between Moose Factory, and Albany. Emily Swanson married Andrew Morrison, one of the Métis signatories of the 1905 Moose Factory Halfbreed Petition. As a Métis family and members of the Abitibi Métis community, Emily and Andrew supported the petition to ensure the collective identity and rights of the community were recognized and protected.

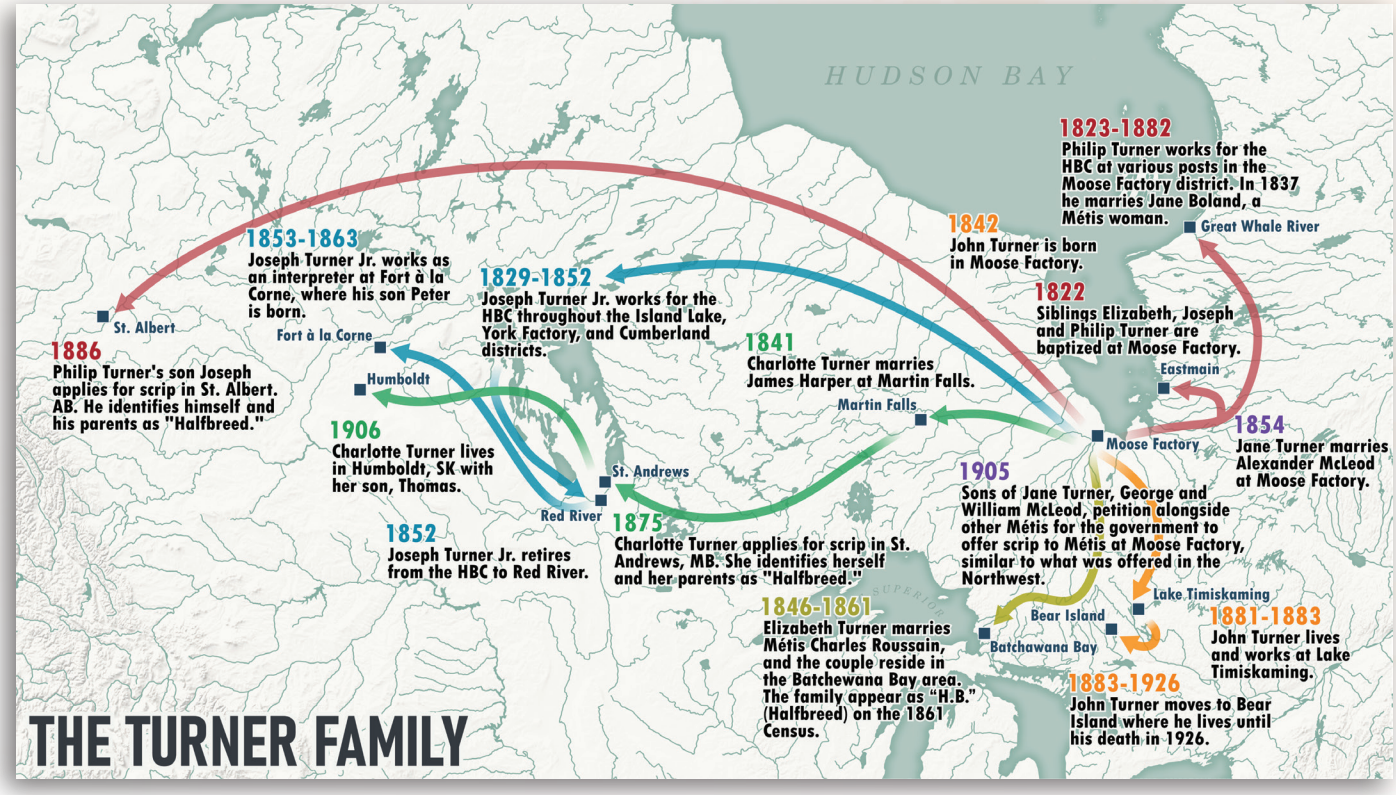
When the Canadian government began the process of granting scrip to Métis in exchange for extinguishing their right to land, many in Northern Ontario believed that given their relationship with, and therefore rights to, the lands they were born and raised, should be eligible for scrip like Métis on the prairies, some of whom were close relatives.

Métis in Moose Factory were well aware that their friends and family in the west had been granted scrip. By 1896, at least eight Métis in Fort Albany had submitted scrip applications themselves, including Robert Swanson. Ultimately, scrip claims from Fort Albany were disallowed on the basis that the post was located in Ontario, rather than on the Keewatin side of the provincial/territorial boundary.

On the back of being denied scrip, by the early 1900s the fur trade in northern Ontario was slowing considerably, thanks to decades of overhunting and the demands on resources of the encroaching settler population. In 1902, the HBC relocated its distribution warehouse from Moose Factory to Charlton and laid off several servants. Although some Swanson family members remained in Moose Factory, others ventured south to find work. Some landed in Lake Superior, including Thunder Bay, and others in the Georgian Bay area where many Métis families were drawn to the boom created by the railway and logging industries.

I. "Rev John and Mrs. Sanders, 189?" Credit: Vince Crichton, Chapleau Public Library
II. Scrip, Robert Swanson - LAC, RG 15, vol 703, T-12433
III. Treaty 9 – Petition of Certain Halfbreeds of Moose Factory for Scrip and/or Consideration and Applications to be placed on th paylists; 1905-1910. LAC, RG10, Vol. 3093, File 289, 300, Reel C-9667

The Turners


HUDSON BAY
THE TURNER FAMILY
1823-1882
Philip Turner works for the HBC at various posts in the Moose Factory district. In 1837 he marries Jane Boland, a Métis woman.
Great Whale River
1842
John Turner is born in Moose Factory.
1822
Siblings Elizabeth, Joseph and Philip Turner are baptized at Moose Factory.
Eastmain
1853-1863
Joseph Turner Jr. works as an interpreter at Fort à la Corne, where his son Peter is born.
St. Albert
Fort à la Corne
1829-1852
Joseph Turner Jr. works for the HBC throughout the Island Lake, York Factory, and Cumberland districts.
1841
Charlotte Turner marries James Harper at Martin Falls.
Martin Falls
1886
Philip Turner's son Joseph applies for scrip in St. Albert. AB. He identifies himself and his parents as "Halfbreed."
Humboldt
1906
Charlotte Turner lives in Humboldt, SK with her son, Thomas.
Moose Factory
1854
Jane Turner marries Alexander McLeod at Moose Factory.
St. Andrews
Red River
1852
Joseph Turner Jr. retires from the HBC to Red River.
1875
Charlotte Turner applies for scrip in St. Andrews, MB. She identifies herself and her parents as "Halfbreed."
1905
Sons of Jane Turner, George and William McLeod, petition alongside other Métis for the government to offer scrip to Métis at Moose Factory, similar to what was offered in the Northwest.
Lake Timiskaming
Bear Island
Batchawana Bay
1846-1861
Elizabeth Turner marries Métis Charles Roussain, and the couple reside in the Batchewana Bay area. The family appear as "H.B." (Halfbreed) on the 1861 Census.
1881-1883
John Turner lives and works at Lake Timiskaming.
1883-1926
John Turner moves to Bear Island where he lives until his death in 1926.

On June 30, 1822, Métis siblings Elizabeth, Joseph, and Philip Turner were baptized together at Moose Factory. The children of Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) servant Joseph Turner Sr. and his wife, Emma, they were growing up in the Métis world of the coastal and inland fur trade posts of western James Bay. Over the next few decades, these Turner siblings, and their younger brothers and sisters, would travel vast distances. Over time, they would develop family and other kinship networks in important Métis settlements across the Métis Homeland.

Joseph Sr. had worked at the HBC depot at Moose Factory and connected inland posts since 1799. Like many of the Métis "factory boys" who grew up at the fur trade posts of James Bay, Joseph Sr. had a long career with the HBC. He spent the years when his children were youngest in the Kenogamissi District, about 350 km inland from Moose Factory, up the Moose and Mattagami Rivers, in an area where competing traders fought for trading partners and furs in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Joseph Sr. returned to the depot at Moose Factory in 1821 and worked there until he retired in 1863. Little is known about Joseph's halfbreed wife, Emma, but like other Métis women, she fished, hunted, made snowshoes, cooked, and cleaned in and around the fort, all while raising the next generation of Métis.

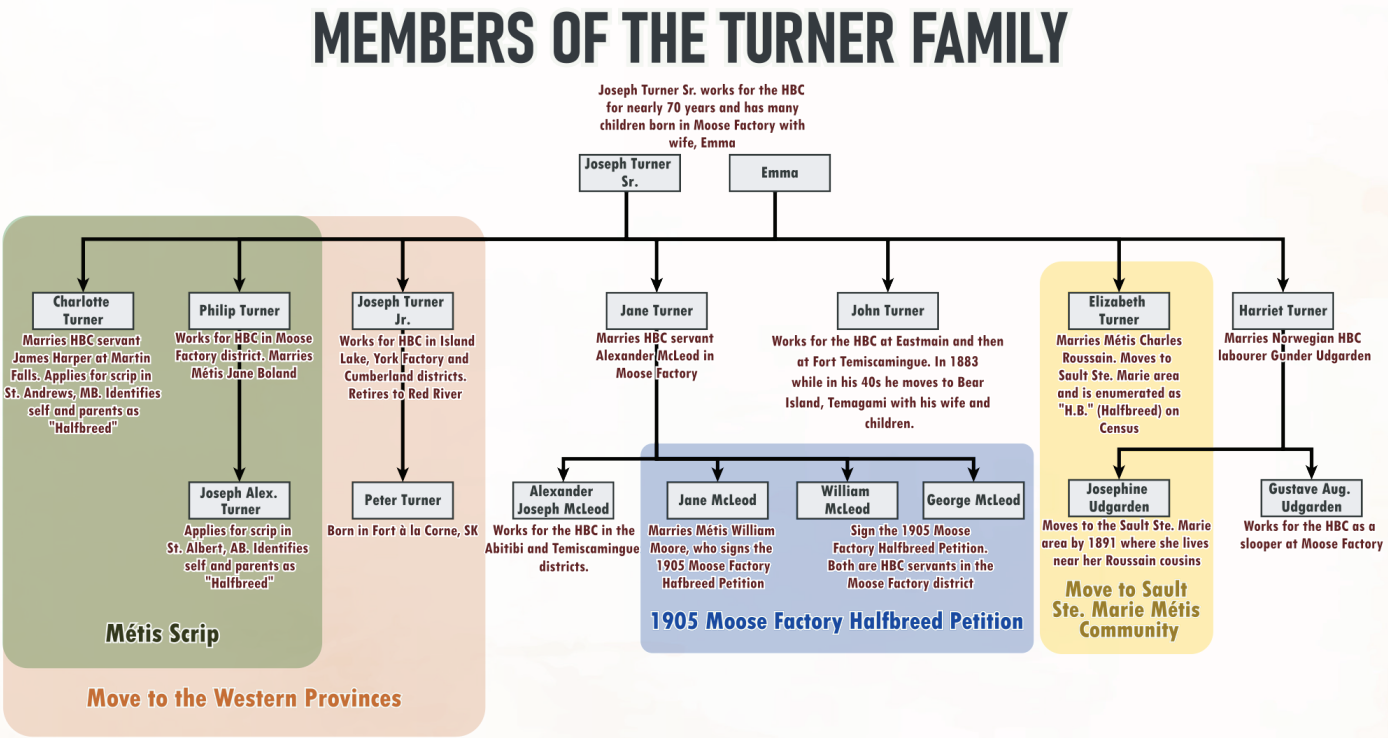
Like many Métis sons, Philip, Joseph Jr., and John Turner followed their father into HBC service. John worked for the HBC as a blacksmith at Temiscamingue. Along with his Métis wife, Mary Mclean and his family, he lived among Métis families at Temiscamingue Lake before moving to Bear Island, Temagami in 1883. Philip worked in the Moose Factory District and was postmaster at Eastmain and Great Whale River on the east coast of James Bay. But Joseph Jr.'s HBC career took him far across the Métis Homeland. In 1829, he left Moose Factory and travelled nearly 1,000 km to the Island Lake District northeast of Lake Winnipeg.

The Island Lake District's headquarters was at Oxford House, which, between 1828 and 1833, was also the headquarters for a winter road connecting York Factory and the Red River settlement. As an apprentice in the district, Joseph Jr. would have crossed paths with many Métis travelling this route, and he likely worked alongside Métis HBC servants George Taylor and Bakie Sinclair,

who also worked in the district. Following his apprenticeship, Joseph Jr. headed east to the coastal port of York Factory before moving west again to the Cumberland District on the Saskatchewan River. The Cumberland District's headquarters, Cumberland House, was a major site of pemmican production and an important stopping point for boats heading to the Athabasca country, placing Joseph at a central point in the vibrant, networked Métis world. In Cumberland District, Joseph may have once again lived and worked alongside Bakie Sinclair, as well as Hector Finlayson, a Métis boat-builder in the district in 1852, whose family had ties within the Lake of the Woods and Northern Lake Superior region.

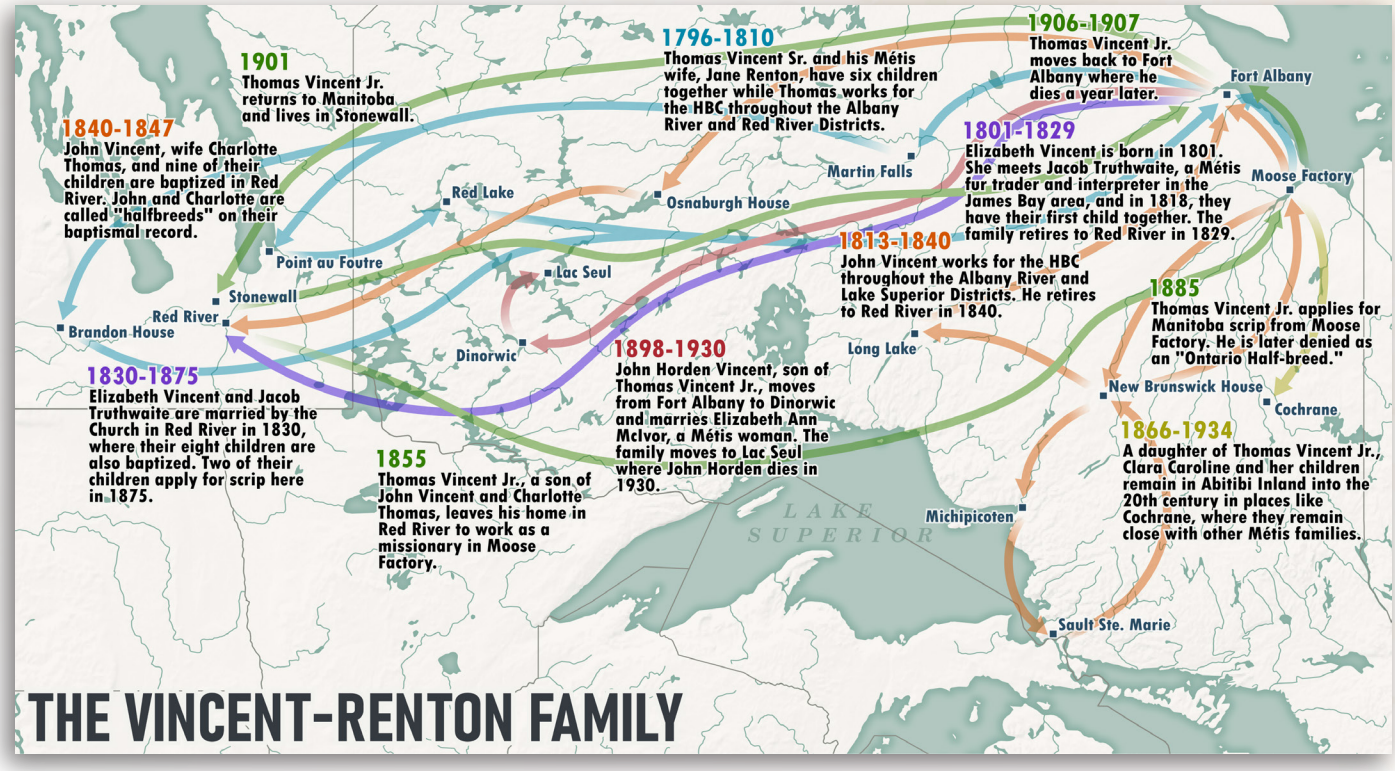
When Joseph Jr. left the HBC in 1852 at the age of 36, he retired to Red River. By that time, other members of the Turner family had also moved west. For example, his sister Charlotte and her husband, James Harper, moved to Red River from Martin Falls when James retired from the HBC in 1844. They were among the many Métis families from what is now northwestern and northern Ontario—including northern Lake Superior—who congregated in Red River when their contracts expired with the HBC. Many, including James Harper, became farmers. But Joseph Turner Jr. did not stay in Red River for long. The following year, he returned north and worked as a "freeman" at The Pas, just east of Cumberland House, where independent Métis traders siphoned trade away from the HBC post. In 1853, Joseph Jr. then moved to Fort à la Corne, a Métis settlement on the Saskatchewan River, where the HBC had a provisioning post. He raised a family at Fort à la Corne and worked there as an interpreter for the HBC into the 1860s. Subsequent generations of Turners built lives for themselves at Red River, Fort à la Corne, and Métis settlements throughout the Homeland.

Elizabeth Turner's life took a different direction from those of her siblings drawn west by marriage or the fur trade's economic opportunities. Following her marriage to a Métis man named Charles Roussain, Elizabeth and her children spent their lives in the Sault Ste. Marie Historic Métis Community. They later lived in Roussainville, the small Métis fishing village named for Charles' family, where they were joined by Elizabeth's niece, Josephine Undgarden, who grew up at Moose Factory before moving to Roussainville with her husband. Josephine's sister Mary Undgarden also relocated from Moose Factory to Sault Ste. Marie, and likely spent time visiting family at Roussainville.


MEMBERS OF THE TURNER FAMILY
Joseph Turner Sr. works for the HBC for nearly 70 years and has many children born in Moose Factory with wife, Emma
Joseph Turner Sr.
Emma
Charlotte Turner
Marries HBC servant James Harper at Martin Falls. Applies for scrip in St. Andrews, MB. Identifies self and parents as "Halfbreed"
Philip Turner
Works for HBC in Moose Factory district. Marries Métis Jane Boland
Joseph Turner Jr.
Works for HBC in Island Lake, York Factory and Cumberland districts. Retires to Red River
Jane Turner
Marries HBC servant Alexander McLeod in Moose Factory
John Turner
Works for the HBC at Eastmain and then at Fort Temiscamingue. In 1883 while in his 40s he moves to Bear Island, Temagami with his wife and children.
Elizabeth Turner
Marries Métis Charles Roussain. Moves to Sault Ste. Marie area and is enumerated as "H.B." (Halfbreed) on Census
Harriet Turner
Marries Norwegian HBC labourer Gunder Udgarden
Joseph Alex. Turner
Applies for scrip in St. Albert, AB. Identifies self and parents as "Halfbreed"
Peter Turner
Born in Fort à la Corne, SK
Alexander Joseph McLeod
Works for the HBC in the Abitibi and Temiscamingue districts.
Jane McLeod
Marries Métis William Moore, who signs the 1905 Moose Factory Hafbreed Petition
William McLeod
George McLeod
Sign the 1905 Moose Factory Halfbreed Petition. Both are HBC servants in the Moose Factory district
Josephine Udgarden
Moves to the Sault Ste. Marie area by 1891 where she lives near her Roussain cousins
Gustave Aug. Udgarden
Works for the HBC as a slooper at Moose Factory
Métis Scrip
Move to the Western Provinces
1905 Moose Factory Halfbreed Petition
Move to Sault Ste. Marie Métis Community

As Turner siblings made lives for themselves in Métis communities across the Métis Homeland, the family's youngest daughters—Jane and Harriet—remained in Moose Factory, their children growing up in the same community where their parents and grandparents had spent their lives. Yet their connection to relatives right across the Métis Homeland probably influenced the later activities of the Moose Factory Turners. Two of Jane's sons, George and William McLeod, likely knew that their cousin Joseph (Philip Turner's son) had successfully applied for scrip in Alberta in 1886. In 1905, George and William petitioned the government to offer scrip to Métis at Moose Factory too, citing the scrip already granted to their halfbreed friends and family "of the North West Territory."

The Vincent-Renton Family


1796-1810
Thomas Vincent Sr. and his Métis wife, Jane Renton, have six children together while Thomas works for the HBC throughout the Albany River and Red River Districts.
1906-1907
Thomas Vincent Jr. moves back to Fort Albany where he dies a year later.
Fort Albany
1901
Thomas Vincent Jr. returns to Manitoba and lives in Stonewall.
1840-1847
John Vincent, wife Charlotte Thomas, and nine of their children are baptized in Red River. John and Charlotte are called "halfbreeds" on their baptismal record.
Martin Falls
1801-1829
Elizabeth Vincent is born in 1801. She meets Jacob Truthwaite, a Métis fur trader and interpreter in the James Bay area, and in 1818, they have their first child together. The family retires to Red River in 1829.
Moose Factory
Red Lake
Osnaburgh House
Point au Foutre
Lac Seul
1813-1840
John Vincent works for the HBC throughout the Albany River and Lake Superior Districts. He retires to Red River in 1840.
1885
Thomas Vincent Jr. applies for Manitoba scrip from Moose Factory. He is later denied as an "Ontario Half-breed."
Stonewall
Red River
Brandon House
Dinorwic
Long Lake
1898-1930
John Horden Vincent, son of Thomas Vincent Jr., moves from Fort Albany to Dinorwic and marries Elizabeth Ann McIvor, a Métis woman. The family moves to Lac Seul where John Horden dies in 1930.
New Brunswick House
Cochrane
1830-1875
Elizabeth Vincent and Jacob Truthwaite are married by the Church in Red River in 1830, where their eight children are also baptized. Two of their children apply for scrip here in 1875.
1866-1934
A daughter of Thomas Vincent Jr., Clara Caroline and her children remain in Abitibi Inland into the 20th century in places like Cochrane, where they remain close with other Métis families.
1855
Thomas Vincent Jr., a son of John Vincent and Charlotte Thomas, leaves his home in Red River to work as a missionary in Moose Factory.
LAKE SUPERIOR
Michipicoten
Sault Ste. Marie
THE VINCENT-RENTON FAMILY

Jane Renton was born and raised in the Albany District, a vast administrative territory extending inland from the southwest side of James Bay. As a young Métis woman, Jane was familiar with life at a trading post and with the role she was expected to play within the fur trade world. Her knowledge of both Indigenous and European culture made her an ideal wife and mother in the eyes of Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) employees, who wanted their children brought up in the same way so they too could contribute to the trade.

Jane fulfilled these expectations when she married English HBC officer Thomas Vincent à la facon du pays, or, in the custom of the country. Country marriages were commonplace in the fur trade world, especially in remote regions like Albany where there were few opportunities to be married by travelling missionaries. Instead, unions between European traders and Indigenous women were based on local customs. Jane and Thomas were one of many generations of couples in Abitibi Inland who married and raised children in this way.

Jane and Thomas lived at Fort Albany, the Albany District headquarters and major distribution centre. Their children attended the newly established school, which was started to give the first generation of HBC officers' children in the James Bay area a formal education and religious training. This education prepared them for a life in the fur trade world: the boys were to join the trade as soon as they were old enough, and the girls were to become dutiful wives.

Thomas and Jane's daughters Harriet and Elizabeth married HBC employees in Albany District. Elizabeth and her husband, Jacob Truthwaite, moved to Red River after Jacob's retirement from the HBC in 1829. Harriet married George Gladman in the 1820s. She and her children likely travelled with George to various posts including Moose Factory, Eastmain, York Factory, and Norway House.

Thomas and Jane's eldest son John joined the HBC in 1813. He worked as a writer and clerk throughout the Albany and Lake Superior Districts. John started a family with Charlotte Thomas, whose father also worked in Albany District. After retiring from the HBC in 1840, John brought his family to Red River, where John and Charlotte's marriage was formalized and their nine children baptized.

Though many Métis sons grew up to join the fur trade, John's son Thomas took a different path. Instead of joining the HBC, he joined the church. In 1855, he travelled from Red River to Moose Factory, where he served as an apprentice to the Anglican Reverend John Horden before they grew up to join the HBC. He also worked as a schoolteacher, educating Métis children like John Saunders. In addition to his teaching and ecclesiastical duties, Thomas—fluent in both English and Cree—served as a translator and interpreter.

After five years, Thomas was promoted to deacon and sent to minister at Fort Albany, where his father served as postmaster more than 30 years earlier. It was during his time at Fort Albany that Thomas married Eliza Gladman, daughter of Joseph Gladman, chief trader at Rupert House. The couple raised five children together.

When he was promoted to priest in 1863, Thomas snowshoed from Fort Albany to Red River for his ordainment. He made the return journey by canoe, accompanied by his brother James, who spent a short time as a clergyman before joining the HBC. Long journeys characterized much of Thomas' career as a priest, as he travelled great distances to baptize, marry, and bury his parishioners throughout the Albany region—including his birthplace of Osnaburgh—and the wider diocese, even going as far as Michipicoten on Lake Superior.

Thomas faced discrimination based solely in the fact he was Métis, which proved an obstacle in his advancement to a higher position within the Anglican Church. While his superiors saw the value in Thomas' language and cultural skills, Indigenous clergymen were barred from the church's top ranks. In 1883 in Moose Factory, Thomas was appointed Archdeacon of Moosonee; however, though he hoped to succeed Reverend Horden as Bishop of Moosonee, Thomas lost the role to a British-born clergyman with far less experience.

Thomas also faced obstacles when applying for scrip. In 1885, he applied for scrip for himself and his family. His claim was denied on the grounds that they were "Ontario half-breeds"- which being outside of the Keewatin District rendered them not entitled to scrip. In 1893, Thomas joined other Métis at Moose Factory in petitioning the government "to consider favourably the claims of the Half-breeds of that Country for compensation in lieu of lands."

In 1902, Thomas was still fighting for compensation. Now living in Stonewall, Manitoba, having retired two years earlier, he wrote to scrip commissioners, arguing that his family had lived for 36 years at Fort Albany, which was part of the contested Keewatin territory. However, because the family had spent several years at Moose Factory when Thomas was assigned temporary charge of the diocese in Bishop Horden's absence, scrip commissioners argued that the family was based in Ontario and did not meet residency requirements for scrip.

Thomas' retirement was short-lived. In 1906, he was forced out of retirement and sent back to Fort Albany due to a shortage of clergymen. Thomas died the following year and was buried in Moose Factory.

Thomas Vincent's children continued the family's legacy of travelling throughout the Métis Homeland. His daughter Clara Caroline remained in Moose Factory, and her descendants later ended up in Chapleau and Cochrane. Clara's brother John Horden Vincent moved from his birthplace of Fort Albany to what is now northwestern Ontario. He married Elizabeth McIvor, daughter of a Lac La Pluie District trader, in Dinorwic in 1898. They later moved to Lac Seul, where John Horden worked as a trapper until his death in 1930.

I. Old Fort Albany in 1886. Credit: J.B. Tyrell, Geological Survey of Canada
II. Archdeacon Thomas Vincent. Credit: John Thomas Griffin fonds, Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives, P7514-06

APPENDIX 2: Kinship and Social Network Analysis

Three aspects of kinship are mapped in the SNA: lineal kinship, affinal kinship, and fictive kinship.

- **Lineal kinship** refers to immediate biological relations between parents, children, and siblings.
- **Affinal kinship** consists of marriage relationships. In addition to the two married individuals, this term acknowledges the bond created between the families of those individuals.
- **Fictive kinship** refers to elected relationships. These are relationships that a person chooses to establish and that are documented in the historical record. Examples of fictive kinship include godparenting and marriage witnessing. Expanding the definition of kinship beyond lineal relationships is critical to understanding social relationships in North American Indigenous societies and Métis societies in particular.[113]

For the purposes of this report, Social Network Analysis (SNA) is defined as the process of graphing and investigating kinship between individuals and within groups of people. The process begins with the collection of information about individuals, their kinship networks, religion, and other relevant information. This information is based on genealogical data provided by the MNO Registry and research conducted by Know History for the MNO. The kinship network data relies primarily on vital statistics and church records and should not be considered comprehensive. Information from these records is broken down into discrete facts, such as Birth, Baptism, Residence, Marriage, Witness, Godparent, and Death. Each fact is recorded using genealogical software before being extracted and organized into a table that can be imported into Gephi software. Using Gephi's ForceAtlas2 continuous algorithm, individuals and relationships are automatically mapped to create a social network graph.[114] This visual data can then be analyzed.

SNA visually represents kinship networks using nodes and edges. Nodes represent individuals, while edges represent relationships between individuals. In this case, nodes represent historic and contemporary individuals from the Study Area. They are linked to other individuals (nodes) through various relationships (edges). These nodes and edges are displayed in a graph, which represents the kinship networks that make up identified communities.[115] This sheds light on connections that are otherwise hidden in traditional family trees. Equally, the graphs demonstrate when few connections exist between groups of people. SNA is an effective way to analyze, interpret, and draw conclusions about kinship networks.

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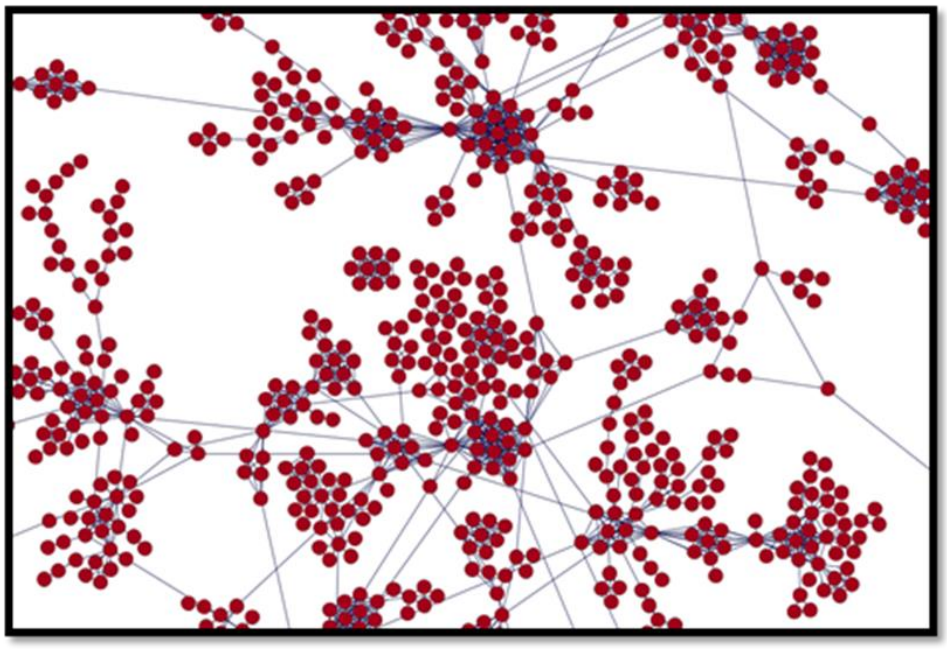
[113] Brenda Macdougall, *One in the Family: Métis Culture in Nineteenth-Century Northwestern Saskatchewan* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 9-10.

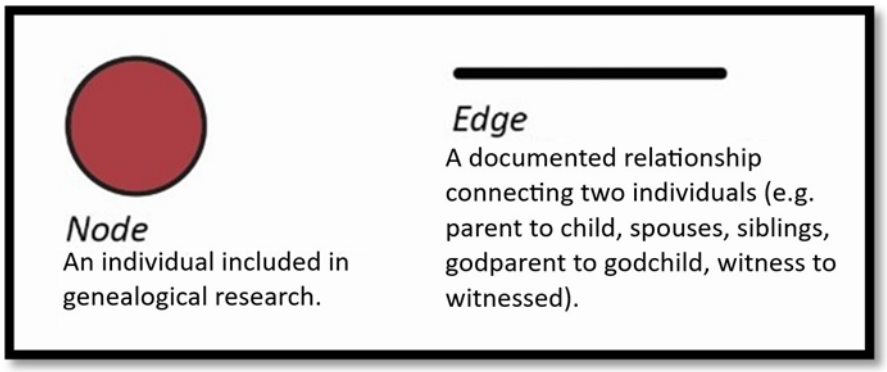
[114] Mathieu Jacomy, Tommaso Venturini, Sebastien Heymann, Mathieu Bastian, "ForceAtlas2, a Continuous Graph Layout Algorithm for Handy Network Visualization Designed for the Gephi Software," *PLoS ONE* 9, 6 (June 2014): 1, accessed April 12, 2021, https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article/file?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0098679&type=printable.

[115] Christina Prell, *Social Network Analysis: History, Theory and Methodology* (London: Sage Publications, 2012), 1; John Scott, *Social Network Analysis – A Handbook*, 3rd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2013), 3.



Segment of a SNA graph showing individuals and their connection to other individuals.

The above is a sample extract of an SNA graph. Each person (node) is represented by a circle. If research indicates a relationship between two people (for example, a parent to a child, siblings, spouses, witnesses, etc.), these individuals are connected by a line (edge). The more connections that exist between groups of individuals, the closer the circles cluster together. Traditional nuclear families are therefore characterized by small clusters of densely connected individuals. Where multiple families connect, larger clusters are created.


Node
An individual included in genealogical research.
Edge
A documented relationship connecting two individuals (e.g. parent to child, spouses, siblings, godparent to godchild, witness to witnessed).

Components of an SNA graph. There are two parts to the graphs: nodes, which represent people; and edges, which represent the relationships between those people.

APPENDIX 3: Questions to the MNC Expert Panel from the Abitibi Inland Métis Community

As these submissions have shown, many Métis families—with ties to both Ontario and the Prairies—were born, lived, married, and/or worked within the western James Bay coastal Métis settlements of the AIMC, namely Moose Factory and Fort Albany. Coupling the importance of these locations to many well-known Métis families with the fact that all Métis Nation Homeland maps utilized by the MNC prior to 2018 encompassed these western James Bay settlements, is it justifiable to say the AIMC and the Métis families that it comprises do not meet the criteria outlined in the 2002 National Definition for citizenship within the Métis Nation?

Métis Nation
of Ontario